

**MARATHA PRINCELY STATES
IN MALWA (1732—1858)**

Thesis

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PREFACE.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to trace in detail; the significant princely ruler's role i.e. Holkars, Sindhias, and Pawars in the Maratha affairs in Malwa from 1732 to 1858. This period constitutes clashes between the local rulers in Malwa; Mughal Governors; for expanding Maratha rule and waning the local rulers and Jahagirdars in Malwa. During these momentous periods the Maratha Princely rulers, outplayed the Mughals both in war and diplomacy.

In these political developments, MalharRao Holkar, Ahilyabai Holkar; YeshwantRao Holkars and others princely rulers in Holkar families; Rangji Sindhia, Mahadaji Sindhia, Jankoji Sindhia. DaulatRao Sindhia and other of Sindhia families. UdajiRao Pawar, AnandRao Pawar, Murar JagdeoRao Pawar, YeshwantRao I pawar and other Pawar families; played a vital role; which clearly shows that these princely rulers often acted as a forceful instrument in the formulation and execution of the policies of the Maratha expansion in Malwa.

The problem of the relationship between the peshwa and the political chiefs of the different Maratha States was not given sufficient importance; so far in the history of the Marathas. The study of such relations becomes necessary to understand the rise and fall of the Peshwas and the contribution of various Maratha confederates in that process.

Tracing

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The present thesis aims at ^{analyse} training the rise and growth of Maratha Princely States and their Polity in Malwa and taking a general survey of the relations between the Holkars of Indore; Sindhias of Ujjain and Gwalior and Pawars of Dhar and Dewas; and their suzerain authority; the Peshwas from 1732 to 1858. It mainly concerns with the relationship regarding the political events in the north especially in Malwa. Peshwa Bajirao I; adopted the policy of Maratha expansion in the north; (of Narmada). He took assistance of many commanders of the Maratha troops in conquering the province of Malwa.

MalharRao Holkar Ranoji Sindhia; UdajiRao Pawar; were of those commanders who took active part in the conquest of Malwa between 1723 to 1740.

Earlier to this, MalharRao Holkar, Ranoji Sindhia and UdajiRao Pawar were came ^{and} in contact with the Peshwa. Balaji Vishwanath had travelled to Delhi with ^{them} him, as ^{MalharRao} commander of an independent troops. Thus the history of the relations between the Holkar and the Peshwa goes back to the year 1718 AD. In order to explain the attitude of MalharRao Holkar, Ranoji Sindhia, UdajiRao Pawar; towards the Peshwas in the period under review; it is necessary to deal with the events relating to the conquest of Malwa, upto 1740 AD, and their princely rule upto 1858.

Therefore in the present work, I have attempted to make a reassessment of their plan mainly with the Maratha expeditions in Malwa by emphasizing time and again the need to detnd Swarajya and Swardharma.

The conduct of Holkar rulers including MalharRao Holkar I; P YeshwantRao Holkar, UdajiRao Pawar, YeshwantRao Pawar; is mainly ^a~~4~~ times critisized by historians regarding a few events in Malwa and South. In fact the study of the problem of relationship should be taken in its entirety and with the revelent context, it should not be done in an isloated way keeping a particular event in mind.

An attempt has been made in the present work; the subject has been analysed with minute care in the light of fresh evidence aviabile both in English and Marathi; sources. The conduct of MalharRao Holkar at the battle of Panipat; (1761 AD.) the conduct of UdajiRao Pawar after the battle of Dabhai (1731 AD.) and the conduct of Mahadaji Sindhia; after the battle of Panipat the affairs of Najeeb Khan Rohilla; the dispute of succession in the house Holkars, Sindhias, and Pawars and indifferent attitude; has particularly been mentioned about those princely rulers in Malwa.

The mistake comitted by the Peshwa BajiRao II and DaulatRao Sindhia were mainly responsible for the hostility between Holkar and the Peshwa at the end of the 18th century; which ultimately weakened the farbic of even otherwisetragic unity that existed among the Maratha Princely rulers.

documents, letters, in Marathi, Hindi as well as in English from the Libraries of Nat-Nagar-Shodha Sansthan Shri.Raghvirsingh Library Sitamau(Malwa) the libraries of Bharat Itihas Sanshodhan Mandel Poona; National Archives of India(New Delhi) the Central Archeao-logical Meseum Indore; Maharashtra Sahitya Sabha Library Indore, Sindhia oriental Research Library Ujjain, Shri.Khatriya Dhangar Sevasanga-Library Indore, Gazetteer unit Library of G.A.D.Bhopal; from these rich Libraries; I was able to collect the revelent material from the original and secondary sources.

For obtaining the books from the above said libraries, I am deeply indebted to Honourable Dr.Raghuvirsingh, a great Historian and founder Director of Nat-Nagar Shodh-Sansthan Sitamau, (Malwa) for his invaluable advice, guidance and sympathy. I am greatful to him for giving me much for his valuable time. I should like to record my deep sense of obligations to Dr.Manoharsingh Randwat, Senior Research Director, Nat-Nagar Shodh-Sansthan Sitamau, deserves credit for helping me verifying references and his constructive criticism of the Thesis. Shri.Dr.Wakankar, Research Director, Vikramkrti Mandir Archaeological, Department Ujjain has been of great help. Shri.R.S.Garg, Central Museum Indore; Shri.Kaigaonkar, (Librarian) Maharashtra Sahitya Subha Indore; they helped me with many useful suggesstions.

The present work would not have been the light of the day; but for the help and guidance which I received from my expert guide Dr.P.R.Deo, M.A.Ph.D.Head, Dept.of History, Yeshwant Mahavidyalaya, Nanded, inspite of his busy life, he provided

sufficient time for discussion on the subject and gave valuable suggestions. It is because of his numerous suggestion and comments that the Thesis could come to this shape.

The deepest feelings of gratitude are to Dr.P.V.Ranade; Reader in History, Marathwada University,Aurangabad. I find no word to thank him for the encouragement and able guidance that I received from him. My most respectful thanks are due to my gracious, Dr.B.M.Patodekar,Registrar, Marathwada University,Aurangabad for generous support. I offer my most grateful obeisance and thanks to Shri. Madhavrao Borde, Executive Member Marathwada University,Aurangabad and Dr.Gangadhar Pantavane, Reader, Department of Marathi,Marathwada University,Aurangabad for their constant help to my Thesis. I have hearty thanks to Dr.Shri.T.V.Pathey,Head of Department of History, Marathwada University,Aurangabad, for his valuable help to my Thesis.

It is my pleasant duty to record my debt of gratitude to my principal, DrR.Kulkarni, Nutan Mahavidyalaya, Sailu; who with his parental kindness always encouraged me to complete the Thesis. In this connection I also take the opportunity of Expressing my heartfelf gratitude to my colleague, Dr.P.V.Kate, M.A.Ph.D.,Nutan Mahavidyalaya,Sailu P.R.Borkar (Girls High school,Sailu) Shri.SambhajiRao Kumbhare, Ramakant Nagdeve (Ujjain) for their suggestions to improve the quality of the Thesis.

I am also greatful to my another colleague Prof.R.L.Patodkar, Shri.Rana for helping me to get into translated the Maratha Materials into English. Further more my thanks are also to Shri.P.K.Bagul(Supdt. of Police), Shri.P.R.Rawte, Shri.D.K.Makode, Shri.Varhade Asstt.Registrar(Co.op.Society)Sailu, Shri.M.S.Joshi, for his help and suggestion from time to time. Shri.D.V.Joshi deserves appreciations for undertaking the monotonous task of type coping the entire work.

Last but not least, I must take the oppurtunity of expressing my heart felt gratitude and thank my wife Mrs.Mandakini Nagrale. I mention with reverence and gratitude the happy direction, I had always received from my revered father Shri.Niwruittiji Nagrale and Mother Bhimabai Nagrale. I am greatly indebted to them. They have done much for me.



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Synopsis of :

MARATHA PRINCELY STATES IN MALWA--(1732 to 1858 AD)

Following is the chapter-Scheme of the Thesis:

Chapter-I

MALWA ON THE EVE OF MARATHA CONQUEST : :

- i) New routes in Malwa.
- ii) The situation and physical features.
- iii) The real causes of the Maratha invasions in Malwa.
- iv) Mughal Maratha struggle and Maratha hold on Malwa.

Chapter-II

MARATHA CONQUEST OF MALWA AND THE BEGINNING OF MARATHA PRINCELY STATES IN MALWA : :

A- HOLKARS IN MALWA:

- i) MalharRao Holkar and founder of the Holkar-family.
- ii) Ahilyabai's Regim (1767-1795 AD)
- iii) Yeshwantrao Holkar's contribution to Holkar Family and Malwa-

B- SINDHIA'S IN MALWA:

- i) Ranoji Sindhia and the founder of the Sindhia-Family.
- ii) Mahadji Sindhia, his character and career.
- iii) Daulatrao Sindhia and his controversial character.
- iv) Jankoji Sindhia (1827-1843)

C- PAWAR IN MALWA:

- i) Udaji Pawar and the founder of Pawar-family.
- ii) Pawars in Dhar.
- iii) Pawars in Dewas.

Chapter-III.RELATIONS OF THE MARATHA PRINCELY STATES OF MALWA WITH
PESHWA'S GOVERNMENT : : : : :

- i) Holkars Peshwa Relations.
- ii) Sindhias Peshwa Encounter.
- iii) Pawars-Peshwa relations.

Chapter-IV.MARATHA SETTLEMENTS IN MALWA : : : : :

- i) General Administration.
- ii) Revenue Administration.
- iii) Judicial and Military administration and its effects.

Chapter-V.WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN MALWA- 1857 AD.Chapter-VI.SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION : : : : :

CONTENTS : : : :

The Thesis comprises Six (6) Chapters. The scope and contents-of which are as follows:

Chapter.I.

First chapter takes a reviw of the origin and development of the Saranjams of Holkars, Sindhia and Pawars in the Malwa. The chapter also outlines the contributions of these three princely houses in the Malwa region in the 18th and mid nineteenth centuries. How did these Maratha Princely houses rebuild the cities of Indore Maheshwar Ujjain, Dhar and Dewas in the wake of Maratha occupation of Malwa is narrated on the basis of originals and contemporary documents and papers. How did they rearrange the urban and rural economy of Malwa is also dealt with in this Chapter.

1) A HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL PERSONALITY OF MALWA :

This Chapter deals with the following points:
The geographical name Malwa is certainly derived from the name of ancient Indian people called 'Malava'. This well known track in central India, became famous under this name. The contribution of the Malwa to Indian culture is remarkable. It seems that from the seventh century Malwa settled in one particular region which is persently known as Malwa. The strategical importance of Malwa was very great. It was link, which joined North India with South India.

All the military routes to the Deccan passed through it; so also the routes to Gujrat and the sea ports on the western coast. The importance of Malwa increased with Aurangzeb's wars in Deccan. When Aurangzeb was fighting in the Deccan and the Marathas began their aggressive policy, they began to attack Malwa in order to cut off the communication between the Royal camp and North India. Meanwhile the Maratha invaders defeated imperial forces and established Maratha Supremacy over Malwa.

2) NEW ROUTES IN MALWA :

The trade and other routes which passed through Malwa also changed to some extent with the establishment of the Maratha Power in the province. The new route followed by the Maratha armies in the fifties was thus, "they crossed the Narmada generally at Barwah and went to Ujjain, thence to Rampura, crossed the Chambal at Kotah and entered Rajputana". This change in routes generally reduced the political importance of Sironj, which however continued as a stronghold of the Marathas, because from this point, they controlled Ahirwada, Khichiwada and Bhopal. In my thesis I have discussed thoroughly about the routes in Malwa.

3) THE SITUATION AND PHYSICAL FEATURES :

The greatness of Chhatrapati Shivaji lies not only in his first class military exploits; but also in his qualities of a great statesman. ^{As a} He had an ideal and clear conception of Hindu Swarajya in his mind. But after his death, the history of the later Maratha Period (18th Century) is the history of

the supremacy of the house of Chitpavan Brahmins; in the capacity of the Peshwa or Prime Minister of Chhatrapati. Chhatrapati Shahu lacked the qualities of a general in the battle field; but he had great human qualities. The rise of the Peshwa and that of the New Maratha chiefs, the founder of the Maratha state in the north went simultaneously. Both Peshwa Balaji Vishavnath and BajiRao I; aspired to buildup an empire and they had nearly succeeded in bringing particularly the whole of India, under their direct and indirect control. The thesis deals with all the situations and physical features throughly.

4) THE REAL CAUSES OF THE MARATHA INVASIONS IN MALWA :

Various causes have been assigned for the invasions of Malwa by the Maratha and for the wonderful success, they met with the province, with all these above said reasons in the thesis, together with the spirit of high valour, BajiRao I, decided to implement his policy and establish Hindu Kingdom in the North as well as in the south. It should be noted that here MalharRao Holkar, Udaji Pawar, and Ranoji Sindhia, made ~~aperini~~ special efforts for the conquest of Malwa and further Northern India. I have discussed in detail about Marathas first, second and third expedition and its consequences on Malwa. Thus the political relations of the Maratha power with the states of Malwa here completely revolutionaized by the great farman of 1741 AD.

The conquest of Malwa was the first step in the policy of expansion in the North which the Peshwa Bajirao I had adopted. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 brought about the rapid decline of the Mughal Power in the deccan and Malwa. Frequent changes in the Governmentship and the rise of Saiyads and Nizam and their combating tendencies created a favourable opportunity for the invaders in Malwa. In the thesis, I have dealt with Maratha wars between Girdhar Banadur, Muhammad Khan Bangash; Nizam and consequent success of Malharao Holkar, Udaji Pawar, Ranoji Sindhia, and their value of services for the conquest of Malwa and further Northern India.

Thus the year 1741, marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of Malwa. The whole of Malwa estimated about one hundred and fifty lakhs of annual revenue was under the dominion of Maratha Sardars i.e. Holkar, Sindhia, and Pawar.

CHAPTER II.

MARATHA CONQUEST OF MALWA AND THE BEGINNING OF MARATHA PRINCELY STATES IN MALWA :

This Chapter consists of

1) HOLKARS IN MALWA : Malharao Holkar was the founder of the Holkar State. Afterwards he became subhedar of Maheshwar He accompanied the Peshwa Bajirao I, in the battle of Bhopal and displayed a great gallantry. Peshwa Bajirao I, gave 12 districts

in Malwa. The Poona court planned expedition against the Nawab of Sawanur. Peshwa called Malhar^{Rao} Holkar to take sawanur. Peshwa was satisfied with his skill and valour of Malhar^{Rao} Holkar's career and character.

2) AHILYABAI'S REGIME (1767 1795):

Ahilyabai entered her responsible task of Administration by selecting Tukoji Holkar as the commander of the army and to perform those functions, which she as a female could not discharge. Ahilyabai's regime from 1767 1795 AD. Synchronises with the period, during which she attended Zealously to her world renowned charities and her civil administration. The main feature of the administration of this god fearing lady was toleration combined with mercy and due regard to the frailties of the human constitution. Her "Rajab" was based on moral basis and never on force. She spent considerable sums on religious edifices at Maheshwar and built many temple, Rest Houses and wells through out Holkar Dominions. During Ahilyabai's regime there was no reward without a meritorious service and no punishment without an offence.

3) YESHWANTRAO HOLKAR'S CONTRIBUTION TO HOLKAR FAMILY AND MALWA :

Yeshwant^{Rao} Holkar is one of those golden rogues in whom history will always be interested. There is hue and cry against Yeshwant^{Rao} Holkar. I have dealt with all the criticism against Yeshwant^{Rao} Holkar, and specifically

discussed his career and character in the light of original documents. It was but natural for YeshwantRao Holkar to make an attempt to thwart the ambition of DaulatRao Sindhia; to reduce the house of Holkar in the vassalage to himself. YeshwantRao Holkar was the first Maratha Sardar, I have discussed all the important points that prove how YeshwantRao was against the English.

B SINDHIA IN MALWA :

Ranoji Sindhia, the founder of Northern Malwa. , Ranoji Sindhia was a permanent chief in Peshwas service. Sindhia family's prominent role in the battle of Panipat. Mahadaji Sindhia's and Maratha ascendancy in North, He defeated Pathans near Farukabad. Mahadaji Sindhia held the Delhi Darbar. The battle of Lal Sot Mahadaji Sindhia gave a turning point in the Maratha history. After Mahadaji Sindhia's death his successor DaulatRao Sindhia a pleasure loving youngman, did not have the capacity to maintain the delicate balance. his rashness provoked the enmity of Mahadaji's widow and the distrust among his lieutenants was glaringly revealed with the out break of open hostility between Lakhava dada and Ambaji Ingle. In this chapter, I have dealt with the following points. DaulatRao Sindhia's Revolt against Peshwa; DaulatRao Sindhia's attempt to form coalition. Weakness of DaulatRao Sindhia, Jankoji Sindhia a weak ruler and utterly unable to control his turbulent army. The wretched condition of the state in 1835. The Maratha Chiefs made a serious mistake in entrusting the defence of their country to foreigner and

how Maratha lacked the spirit of co operation so essential for their nationalin dependence. Fedual system fostered individual selfish demands.

6 PAWARS IN MALWA :

This sub chapter deals with the following points:

Ancenstry of Pawars. They claimed to Rajput origin. Pawar family started their career in the employment of Chhtrapati Shivaji. Political role of Pawar family. Grant of sanad to Udaji Pawar by Peshwa Bajirao I, grant to two shares of Morkasa and five Talukas of Khandesh. Battle of Dabhai and Udaji Pawar's misconduct against Peshwa and Udaji Pawar's rivalry and how the Pawar family divided into two branches i.e. senior Branch of Dewas and Dhar: Khande Rao I, Anand Rao II, Ramchandrrao II, and their status in the state of Dhar. Modern state of Dewas, Senior Branch Krishanaji Rao I, Junior Branch Jivaji Rao, Sadhashiv Rao and Rumanaji Rao of Dewas. This sub Chapter also deals with Pawar families of Kawathe; Chitegaonkar in Dhar districts.

CHAPTER. III

RELATIONS OF THE MARATHA PRINCELY STATES OF MALWA WITH THE PESHWA GOVERNMENT :

This chapter critically analysis the Relationship of Peshwa and other Maratha Sardars,

- 1) The Relations between the Holkars of Indore and Peshwacareer and achievement of Malhar Rao Holkar. Peshwa

Madhav Rao I and Malhar Rao Holkar's encounter with the Poona Durbar; Ahilyabai and Peshwa.

ii) Relation of Sindhia with central authority of the Maratha confederacy; Mahadaji and Poona Durbar, Dulat Rao and Peshwa Baji Rao II, British Sindhia relation.

iii) Relation between Pawars and Poona Durbar. Difference between Udaji Pawar and Peshwa. Anand Rao I and his cordial Relations with Peshwa. Relations between senior branch of Dewas and Peshwas.

Chapter IV: MARATHA SETTLEMENTS IN MALWA

MARATHA'S ADMINISTRATION IN MALWA :

This chapter deals with the following points:

Administration, General Review. Central Administration in Malwa. The General tendency of Ahilyabai, Mahadaji Sindhia and Anand Rao Pawar's Administration structure and functions of pargana administration in Malwa.

Village Administration in Malwa. Revenue Administration, Khalsa Revenue system. Ijara or Ijaredari Revenue system. Merits and demerits of Ijaredari system. Zamindar. The land measurer of mirdah. The military Administration in Malwa. (Artillery and infantry, ^{and} Cavalry) legislation and Judicial Administration in Malwa. Aval Adalat or Adalat. Dnyam Adalat. Financial Administration in Malwa. Chauth and Sardeshmukhi Effect of Administration in Malwa.

Chapter VI.

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Summary and conclusion.

This Chapter deals with the following points.

The material condition of the Maratha Raj, was on the whole satisfactory. Although then, the provinces were innumerable and unsettled states; on account of military expeditions and frequent appeals to arms, the peasantry and people altogether were happy; the burden of taxation was very light. The princely food stuffs were very cheap and consequently the cost of living was also very moderate.

The social condition in Dhar Indore and Dewas states^{was} that the people assimilate their way of living more or that prevailing in the Deccan than in usual elsewhere in central India. In this Chapter I have concluded all the important points Religious and Social Changes in Malwa, Social Characteristics, Maratha and Some Non Maratha nobilities in Malwa.

INTRODUCTION.

Fall of the Mughal Empire realised certain cyclonic upheaval in Indian History. Rise of the Maratha Power in Malwa was one such syclonic upheaval. Maratha power orginated in the activites of the rebel and adven terous feats of some Maratha Princely rulers. Decline and fall of the Mughal Empire Co incided with the emergence of a Maratha ^Ufeudal states. Maratha occupation of Malwa was an important phase in the cyclonic upheaval in the 18th Century. Social indentity of the Maratha power was not verymuch different from the social personality of the Mughal and Rajput Powers.

Social aims of the Maratha ^Uexperiments were not different in any way from the social aim of the Mughal or Rajput feudal aristocracy of Medival India. How Marathas repelled and replaced; the Mughal; Rajput hegemony over Malwa? What were the socio political cons@quences for the land and people of Malwa? It is needed to be invistigaed from realistic historical perfestive. The present study attempts to make such an investigation.

So far the history of Maratha princely states in Malwa has been told by British colonial Historians and also by Indian Nationalist Historians of Bengali and Maharashtrian verigion; both the colonial schools and called Nationalist schools had a bias not waying in favour of realistic and critical assesment. British colonial authors wrote the History strongly motivated by the desire to justify British

polocies relating to Malwa. Bengali Nationalist schools laid by J.N.Sarkar viewed the entire story from the point of view fair and just medieval imperial tradition.

Maharashtrian Nationalist schools of various brands narrated this history rendering an apology or justification of the Maratha deeds. A critical and realistic treatment is long over due. The present study is an attempts to feel that gap.

Wherever and whenever a nation has been ruled by another nation, writers belonging to the ruling nation have naturally tried, on the one hand; to write up and so encourage the partotism, the self condifence; the self respect and the courage of their own nations i.e. for the rulers and on the other; to write down and so discourage the growth of these qualities among the ruled; perhaps, the history of other country in the world has been so deeply coloured and even distorted as that of India, of those days as presented by contemporary writers. The mischief goes on; from generations to generation.

Through some Maratha historians like V.K.Rajwade; Bakharkars and some European Historians like Grand Duff, Malcolm, Martin; have doubted the attachment of Holkar; Sindhia and Dhar, families to the Peshwa from solitary statements; as well as from a misunderstanding about their conducts in Malwa territories we have the strongest proofs

that they were conspicuously loyal to Peshwa and their Jahagirdars. Shri.V.K.Rajwade and even Shri.G.S.Sardesai stated that Holkar Sindhia illfeeling geradually led to the evil results of the battle of Panipat 1761 A.D. (1).

However in the Peshwa Daftar and Panipat prakaran; Shri.G.S.Sardesai has corrected his mistakes and praised the role of MalharRao Holkar at the battle of panipat. Selected Peshwa Daftar Vol.II; letter Numbers 113, 117, will give the appropriate decision on the favour of MalharRao Holkar.

There are lot of examples which have been discussed in my - Thesis ^{slow} ~~will be seen~~ that neither Bhausahab nor MalharRao; deserved the improper criticism to which they are subjected to occasionally by some historians; without weighing the reasons from the both sides(2). Meanwhile; G.S.Sardesai cleared all the doubts about MalharRao Holkar and Sindhia and Stated that "All Maratha Soldiers and non-combatants fought in the cause of India for the Indians. That the battle of Panipat was never considered as a cause of the fall of the Maratha Empire; is amply proved that the Marathas were fighting against the enemies of their creed and country"(3).

After MalharRao's death (20th May 1766) Ahilyabai's regime from 1767-1795; snychronises with the ^eperiod during which the indefatigable and enthuiastic exertions of the Peshwa MadhavRao. Ahilyabai attended Zealously to her world

renowned charities and her civil administration. The nature of her civil administration; her daily life and habits and her general behaviour towards her neighbours and benefactors; her servants and her ~~sah~~ subjects; was tolerance combined with mercy and a due regard to the frailties of the human constitutions. In the present Thesis; I have quoted lot of examples about her developed administration. According Sir; Hohn Malcolm "The management of all the provinces in Malwa and Nirmar; was the peculiar and her great intension was by just and moderate Government to improve the condition of the country, while she promoted the happiness of her subjects"(4). Sir John Molcolm sunpsup her character and said that "It is an extraordinary picture a female without vanity a bigot with intolerance, a mind imbued with the deepest superstition yet receiving no impression except what promoted the happiness of those under its influence a king exercising; in the most active and able manner; despotic power not merely with sincere humility but under the severest moral respainst that a strict considerce could impose on human action and all this combined with the greatest indulgence for the weakness and faults of others. Such at least is the account which the natives of Malwa give "Ahilya Bai"; with them her name is stained and she styled on "Avater or incarnation of the Divinity"(5).

There are some misunderstandings about YeshwantRao Holkar. The historical evaluation of YeshwantRao Holkar's character is highly essential in order to remove those misunderstanding. "The prevailing misunderstandings about YeshwantRao Holkar should be revalued the great historian Riyasatkar Sirdesai says "YeshwantRao Holkar had been a bright diamand in the short period of Maratha decline.

This dimond with its own brightness removed the pitch darkness of the period. There was no equívalant the Sardar that time. He was a very noble and kind ^{hearted} ~~hearted~~ and ever kind to his juniors. Yet very gallant when descended in war". Though there were many demerits in him, howmany persons, in the whole mankind can there be without a single demerit? Maharashtra was not fortunate enough to have intelligent leader who could an hide his demerits and utalized his great merits for the use of benevolence of the nation and hence the great deeds of YeshwantRao were not properly Rewarded"(6).

There are sufficient Historical resources, which interpret that in 1799, YeshwantRao usurped the state of Holkar, dethrowing Kashirao Holkar, It will not be an ~~exagger~~ exaggeration if it is said that YeshwantRao; after the death of his father reestablished the Holkar State. After 1799 people looked at him a plunderer, rebel and lateron, they began to render him as the sole authority in Holkar dynasty, even then ~~pm~~ people did not forget about his acts of plunder..and a rebellion. But all the statement

are baseless. It was in 1805 that the misunderstanding among the people about him was cleared of (7). The second misunderstanding i.e. YeshwantRao as a plunderer of Poona was also a baseless interpretation. There are numerous passing references in my Thesis, which cleared his career and baselessness of charge of plundering Poona and Aurangabad. It was improper to ignore the greatness of YeshwantRao Holkar. YeshwantRao was the great enemy of British and so they called him as plunderer(8). It is great tragedy that not only the British Historians, but even the Indian History writers blindly committed the same mistake, while writing the history. YeshwantRao Holkar threatened British rulers that "Although unable to oppose the British Artillery in the field; countries of many hundred coss should be overrun and plundered and burnt that the British commander chief would not have leisure to breathe for a moment and that calamities would fall on lacks of humanbeings by the overwhelm like the waves of the sea"(9).

The second example of Sindhia families and their princely rulers; which need to be investigated from realistic historical perspectives. In my thesis attempts have been made of such an investigation. Ranoji Sindhia outlived his rise to the favour of Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath and his successor Bajirao I and not to the Chhatrapati. Hence from that time they were the lieutenants and

subordinates of the Peshwas and not of the Chhtrapati(10).

The life of Mahadaji Sindhia was one long period of strenuous activity directed towards the expansion of Maratha empire and Sindhia family. The keen rivalry for the power between Mahadaji Sindhia and Poona Durbar forms one of the most instructive and controversial episodes of the decline period of the Maratha Power.

Mahadaji's real and precise nature remains unestablished due to passionate and biased advocacy of one or the other by some of the modern Historians of the period. Mahadaji Sindhia was thoroughly antagonised by Raghunathrao, who had opposed his succession to the family fief. The relation aggravated due to cavalier and disobedient attitude of Mahadaji. A news letter of December 1765; narrates the causes of Raghoba's displeasure(11). Moreover the letters Nos.122, 124, and 125 of the selected of Peshwa Daftar Vol.29; indicated that Mahadaji was not responsible for the charges leveled against him.

His attitude towards the Peshwa was one of sincere difference while he never wanted to interfere with internal affairs of other potentates of the confederacy. When Holkar sacked; his territory; he was in position to exact a penalty, he liked this waton act; but he forbore from taking vindictive measures against his adowed enemy in the larger interest of the confederacy (12).

However, after Mahadaji Sindhia nothing was done by the Maratha rulers, they were either to organise the local administration or to mitigate the misery of the people of Malwa in the least. As a result of series of deaths among Maratha princely rulers i.e. Ahilyabai Holkar, Tukoji Rao Holkar, Madhaji Sindhia of Sindhia, family. Anand Rao Puar of Dhar in Malwa princely territories, new princely rulers came to helm of affairs even this semblance of peace and order; there finally ended(13).

The death of Mahadaji Sindhia in 1794 led to the decay of Maratha influence in Northern India and left clear for the expansion British dominions. Daulat Rao Sindhia a lad of fourteen, who had inherited control of the powerful army established by late Mahadaji Sindhia. But unfortunately from the pinnacle of glory and power, Daulat Rao was hurt to the lowest depth of misery and humiliation, throughout his career. In my thesis his relation with Peshwa, princely rulers, i.e. Yeshwant Rao Holkar and British rulers have been analysed. There are many original sources which stated that the Sindhia Holkar rivalry disturbed the peace of the land of Malwa fostered internal dissensions; hampered the establishment of Maratha Regency in North India and finally brokeup the Maratha coalition against the English. The internal stress in Maratha state was

emphasized by administrative anarchy. The Maratha Chiefs believed that the highest political wisdom consisted in finesser diplomatic intrigues. The method employed by Maratha diplomates were extremely crude. The military organisation of the Maratha was ill-organised; illequipped and ill-disciplined ⁽¹⁴⁾ (14).

It is commonly believed that the Peshwa Bajirao II's character was also substantially contributed to the fall of the Maratha dominion. ^{How} However, it was not the alleged weakness of Bajirao II, but the activities of princely rulers and sardars, who played to prominent part in bringing about the downfuall of the Maratha dominion(15).

The third example of Pawar families and their princely rulers which is needed to be invistigation from Yealiastic historical perfeshive. In my Thesis the present study attempts to make such an invistigation. In the first decade of 18th Century, brave people of pawar families of Dhar, Malthankar, Chitegaonkar i.e. Dharkar states had a lionshare in the administration of Marathakingdom for fifty, ^X sixty years. They had a significant hold in the administration of Maratha rulers.

Lateron unfortunately the princely rulers had to face many difficulties and their significance was on decline. At last, at the time of rise of the British Empire, the states were in very precarious condition and hence the name of

Pawar princely rulers was not found in the history of Maratha and its sources. Whereas the name of the other princely rulers, such as Sindhia and Holkar have been recorded by Historians.

The importance of the work of the members of power families like senior Dewas, Dhar, Kawathe Malthankar and Chitegaonkar; States were on the verge of being forgotten. Historians could easily remember, the names of other families. Just because the events, which proved their greatness, had taken place very recently. In my Thesis, some original sources have been brought to light as regards of Dhar; Malthankar Kawathe, Chitegaon and Dewas States(16).

So it is essential to describe the greatness of Pawar families and their major role in Maratha dominion; at its Zenith of glory. However; during the reign of Peshwa Bajirao I; When Udaji Rao Pawar(Malthankar) supported Dabhade to Gujarat against the Peshwa in the battle of Dabhai on 1st April 1731; later on succeeding Peshwas were displeased with all the members of Pawar princely rulers; though they were efficient and brave and eventually the states were on the decline Udaji Pawar being originally; a very brave and bold personalities had an ambition to complete with the Peshwa, Bajirao I original resources in my thesis support that Chhatrapati Shahu, had offered him Mokasa(Saranjami) of Malwa Simultaneously the Peshwa offered him another Saranjami of Gujarat(17).

In the beginning of January 1731, a conflicts, as regards the Mokasa of Gujrat and Malwa, cropped up between Peshwa Bajirao-I and Udajirao Pawar. He complained against Peshwa directly to Chhtrapati Shahu. Since then, the conflict between Udajirao Pawar and Peshwa Bajirao-I took a serious form. Udajirao Pawar behaved in an abnormed way; which suggested that he was considering ⁱhimself to be a sardar of a very high rank; which was probably not less significant than Peshwa. Some times, he said "I am also a Sardar in the service of Chhtrapati Shahu". As soon as the pride of Udajirao Pawar transformed into arrogance, Peshwa Bajirao tried to deprive him of income of Mokasa. As a result, Peshwa Bajirao I; was annoyed with the way behaviour of Udajirao Pawar.

Taking into consideration the events quoted above it can be stated that Udajirao Pawar ^a was such a powerful sardar and ^{had} a lion share in the expansion of Hindavi-Swarjya; even ^{then} ~~the~~ he had to give up rights of Saranjami and to lead a quiet life at Malthan[†] just because he joined hands with the oppnenets of Peshwa Bajirao-I. The ultimate effect was that though AnandRao-I, YeshwantRao of Kawathew[†] States, KnkanjiRao pawar of Senior Dewas and Murar. Gagde of Chitegaonkar etc., Pawar princely rulers deprived of the rights of Saranjami, Though they ^{were} ~~have~~ brave and efficient. The only reason for their loss of honours in Maratha dominion has ^{their} ~~their~~ love for disciplined and streight forwardness against Peshwa Bajirao-I.

It makes the thing clear that in Maratha dominion the great brave and powerful Maratha Princely rulers in pawar families had to give up their selfrespect just because of the whimsical behaviour Peshwa Bajirao I and his succeeding Peshwas. Holkar, Sindhia, Bhonsale and other princely rulers were in the good books of the Peshwas. They used to praise the Peshwas very now and then; in order to achieve the greatness and prosperity of their own sansthan. But Udayarao Pawar and his all succeeding princely rulers in Pawar families refused to surrender and showed their attitude during their life time and refused to compromise; suffered a great loss in the administration of Maratha dominion.

As a result Darkar, Desaskar Malthankar, Chitegaonkar and others belonging to Pawar princely rulers, had gone on the path of decline; just because, they did not surrender and ultimately; a sort of misunderstanding developed in the minds of Chhatrapati and Peshwas. Though they had honestly shouldered the responsibilities in the expansion of Hindavi Swarajya; they had to face the odds. This is not only surprising, but even a sad and complicated affair; in which the Pawar families were put in.

The British historian Malcolm, was always different attitude towards Maratha princely rulers. While Malcolm was soft with Sindhia, he was usually harsh with Holkar. The reason was that he did not come into contact with

Holkar. Another reason may be that Malcolm did not like the restless and dominating personality of YeshwantRao who plunged himself headlong in the war against the British, when they had just emerged victorious against Sindhia and Bhonsale. It may also be suggested that the opportunistic policy of YeshwantRao Holkar, who kept aloof from Sindhia and Bhonsale and then took single handed action was not liked by Malcolm or Martin. It is clear that Malcolm's relations with the Holkar state during the years 1817-1818 were marked by a combination of bad generationship with penetrating political insight. That was why, when Holkar at last was compelled to sign the treaty of peace with the British Government, ^aMalcolm was not willing to grant him liberal terms. But the ^GGovernor General despite Malcolm's loud protests, gave Holkar easy terms and recognized both Holkar and ^SSindhia's rights, which had long proved to be a happy hunting ground of the Maratha fortune makers.

Before the introduction of the British rulers, in the province, the smaller states ^{were} found under "tributary obligations to Sindhia, Holkar or the Pawar chiefs of Dhar, and Chitegaon, and Dewas.

The small independent princely chiefs like the raja of Dhar and Dewas were allowed to retain their "independence", as this was sine-qua-non to ensure the

transquility of the country. The British Govt. pledged to protect Dhar against its enemies (18).

Another treaty was concluded with Tukoji and AnandRao, the joint princely rulers of Dewas, on December 12, 1818, The same relation of "Subordination and protection, on the both sides was guaranteed. The British Govt. engaged to the princely ruler of Dewas to give no protection to any of their discontented relations or dependents and not to interfere in the internal administration of the country(19).

The British Govt. creat^{ed} a new small state i.e. Jaora in Malwa in 1818. Ghafurkhan the brother in law of Amirkhan which he held in Jahagir from Holkar. The creation of ^{two} ~~tand~~ muslim states of Tonk and Jaora was intended to "Counterpoise" the predominant Hindu influence in control India.

The Maratha princely rulers in Malwa enjoyed virtually an independent status. In the administrative - organization. These princely rulers continued the legacy of their master peshwa. The administrative setup at Poona was the model which the princely rulers ⁺ introduced in the Jahagirs under the Marathas there was no ⁺ rigid separation of Powers (20).

when the Marathas conquered Malwa, the then prevailing system of administration was allowed to continue with little change. There were the Diwan the Phānis, the Muzumdar, the chitnis siccānavis, the potnavis, the Daftardar and karkuns. The duty of each wing was clearly defined. Sir John Malcolm; Dr. Raghuvir Singh Burway lele, Hoare, Kunte, Luyard helped us in coming to a right understanding of the evolution of Maratha Administration over a century. All these sources give us a good account of the Marathas administration in Malwa.

In one of the Elphinstone despatches of 1817, observed that "the country was as well governed as most other under natives Governments (21). From the contemporary records and historical facts; it becomes apparent that the Maratha administrators, undoubtedly had in them qualities essential as rulers.

The atmosphere today is such that the events of war of independence of 1857 can be studied dispassionately and objectively and without seeking to condemn or condone the faults of either party to the struggle. It is a tragedy of Indian history that this problem became more and more serious till at last a solution had to be found by partitioning the country on the communal basis. One may safely conclude that before the days of British rule, there was no such things as the Hindu Muslim problem in India. There are lot of

original sources available in various Research libraries that clear the point of war of Independence in Malwa. In fact an objective history of the uprising of 1857; was more difficult to write before India became free. The events; we are to study are already a hundred years old. The bitterness which characterised Indo British relations in the past is no more. Now all Indians, whether Muslims or Hindus looked at things from the same point and judged events by the same standard. It cannot therefore be rightly asserted that the 1857 revolution achieved nothing worthwhile. It did open the eyes of the English rulers and made them more careful towards their Indian subjects than towards their own interests. I also conclude in my Thesis that the revolutionaries fought for the freedom of their country and the security of their religious faiths. In view of all the points, our conclusion is that the war of Independence in Malwa; was a natural phenomenon and was inevitable, if the Indians had the slightest trace of national or human dignity left in them.

Notes and References.

- 1) V.K.Rajwade Itihas Sangraha, Vol.II pp.44-53;
G.S.Sardesai, New History of the Marathas-
Vol.II pp. 163-164.
- 2) V.K.Rajwade; Itihasik Prastavana (Kand) p.53.
- 3) G.S.Sardesai, New History of Maratha Vol.III
pp.225-226.
- 4) Sir.^{Jhon}Malcolm; Memoir of central India Vol.I
pp.135-136.
- 5) Ibid..
- 6) G.S.Sardesai MalharRao Holkar Ani YeshwantRao
Holkar yanche swabhav vihesha malav sahitya
Indore Vishekank (1933) (Marathi) p.133.
- 7) N.R.Phatak YeshwantRao Holkar Charitra p.n.32 (1967) .
G.S.Sardesai Madhya Vibhag p.n.169.
- 8) Bhavanishankar; Rojnishi patravavahar August 1803.
G.S.Sardesai uttar vibhag(III) p.n.396
- 9) G.S.Sardesai; Marathi Riyasat Uttar-vibhag,
p.297; Rumal n.224.
- 10) G.S.Sardesai Marathi Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Part I,
letter no.1728 pp.195-196.
- 11) S.P.D. Vol.29- letter Nos. 108 p.107.
- 12) S.P.D. Vol.29 letter No.235 p.241.
- 13) Dr.Raghuvirsingh-Maratha through the ages pp.146-147.
- 14) P.R.C. XIII June 28, 1817 p.211.
- 15) G.S.Sardesai current in Maratha History p.194 also

- 16) Shivajimaharajchi Bakhar (Marathi) August/
September (1818 AD.) .
Kesulkar; Shivaji Charitra pp.554-55.
- 17) S.P.D. Vol.XIII lr.no.23, 27, 30, 33;
Vol.XXX pp.293-295.
- 18) Extracts from old Records at central India
Agency file No.82, Malcolm letters to Governor
General 1818- 1821.
- 19) Ibid.
- 20) Gune T.V. the Judicial system of the Marathas
P.40 also Sir John Malcolm, Malwa and adjoining
- 21) P.R.C. XIII June 28, 1817 p.207.

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Abbreviations (Explained)

This abbreviations (Glossary) has been mainly compiled from the following books of eminence; the abbreviations of which appear against each term. The term borrowed from other than these books also; bear the title of each book or pamphlet against them. The other abbreviations denote the origin of the term from the authors names also. The abbreviations used are as under; the following two parts.

Part. I.

<u>AR.</u>	:- Asatic Annual Register, Annual Volumes for 1799-1811 (G.Hussain. Translated in English. Elliot-Dowson) (8 Vols).
<u>A.S.O.M.</u>	:- Administrative System of the Maratha (A.S.O.M.)- by Surendra Nath Sen.
<u>A.P.Y.M.</u>	:- Aitihāsik Patern Yadi Wagare (G.S.Sardesai).
<u>A.L.S.</u>	:- Aitihāsik lekh Sangraha. Edited by W.V.Khare (Vols. 1 to 14).
<u>A.T.</u>	:- Aitihāsik Tipane- by D.B. Parasnis.
<u>A.P. (OR Aiti)</u>	:- Aithisik Patravayavahar Vol. I, II. (Sardesai and others).
<u>BISMO.</u>	:- Bharat Itihas Samshodan Mandal Quarterly.
<u>Athalye's Daftar</u>	:- Dhar Daftar collected by S.V.Athalye-Shiposhi.
<u>Balkrishana.</u>	:- Shivaji the Great.
<u>Bhagwat.</u>	:- Holkar Shahi Itihasachi Sadhanen-Ed.-A.N.Bhagwat (Letters are quoted).

- Basu B.D. :- ^{rise} ~~Rise~~ of the Chiristian Power in India Vol.I to IV (Calcutta 1923).
- B.P.G. :- Bombay President Gazeteer.
- Bearce George. :- British attitude towards India (1784 to 1858) (Oxford 1961).
- Choksey (H.B.D.) :- History of British Diplomacy at the courts of the Peshwas.
- CPCIO (CPE) :- Calender of persian correspondence Indian Record office.
- Chandra-Chud :- Selection from the Chandrachud Daftar Vol.I(BIS). (Bharatiya Itihas Sanshodan Mandal Poona).
- D.C.S.P.D.S. :- Descriptive catlogue of secret and Political Department series (1755-1820), Ed.-Dr.V.G.Dighe.
- D.C.P.S.D. :- Descriptive catlogue of papers in Shahu Daftar Vol.II (Pune Archires).
- D.C.N.D. :- Descriptive catalogue of the 6 Nivadi Daftar (Kolhapur Archives).
- D.C.P.D. :- Descriptive catalogue of the persian Daftar (Kolhapur Archives).
- Elliot :- History of India as told by her own historians by Elliot and Dowson.
- EMF :- Fall of the Mughal Empire (3 Vols.) by Sir Jadhunath Sarkar (Vol.I 1932, Vol.II 1934, Vol.III ^{and IV} 1966). (origent Longman)

- Horace. :- Final Report on the Settlement of Indore State by H.J.Hoare.
- Gupta. :- Bajirao-II and the East India Company by Gupta D.C.
- Gupta HariRam. :- Marathas and Panipat 1761 (Chandigarh 1961).
- Grand Duff. :- A History of the Marathas (3 Vols) by Sir James Grand Duff (O.U.P.1921).
- Irvine William. :- Later Mughalals edited, and augmented with the history of Nadirshah's invasion by J.N.Sarkar Vol.II (1719-39) (A Mukerjee and Company Ltd.2.College square Calcutta.12.).
- J.S.O.M. :- The Judicial system of the Marathas (J.S.O.M.) by Gune V.T.
- Kaifiyat (Holkar) :- Holkaranchi Kaifiyat or Sadhnen-Holkar (Vol.VI) -by A.N.Bhagwat.
- Kashiraj . :- An account of the last battle of Panipat (English Translation by H.C. Rawilson). (Mysore 1926)
- Khare. :- Aitihasic Lekhsangraha.
- Kincaid Parasnis. :- History of the Maratha people. (Single Volume) -by C.A.Kinkaid and D.B.Parasnis. (O.U.P.1931).
- Keen H.G. :- History of Hindustan (From the first Muslim conquest to the fall of mughal Empire (Delhi 1972).

Keen H.G.

:- MadhavRao Sindhia.(O.U.P.1916) .

Luard C.E.

:- A Bibliography of the literature dealing with the central India; Agency (London 1908) .

Malcolm.

:- Sir John Malcolm;

i) The Political History of India (from 1784 to 1823) .
(in 2 vols) (London 1823) .

ii) Memoir of Central India (2 vols. London 1823) .

iii) Malwa and Adjoining Countries (1821) .

M.D.

:- Mandloi Daftar, Collected-by S.V. Athalye.

MIS.

:- Marathyanchi Itihasik Sadhanen (22 Vols) by V.K.Rajwade.
(Vol.I, II, III, VI, VIII, XII, XIV, has been used). (Khand)

Maratha Daftars.

:- Dhar Daffars Mandloi Daftar; Dewas Daftar, Kawathe Daftar, Mandloi Daftar, BhaleRao Duftar.

N.H.M.

:- New History of the Marathas (in 3 vols) by G.S.Sardesai. (Bombay 1948) .

N.A.

:- National Archives New Delhi.

P.R.C.

:- Poona Residency-Correspondence (14 vols) following volumes have been used for the work.

Vol.V. Nagpur affairs (1938) Ed. Kale Y.M.

- :- Vol.VII, Close Embassy (1940) Ed. Sardesai G.S.
 Vol.VIII, Daulat Rao Sindhia and the North
 Indian affairs (1943) Ed. J.N. Sarkar.
 Vol.IX. & X. (1943) (Dr. Raghuvir Singh).
 The Treaty of Bassein and the Anglo Maratha War
 (1951) Dr. Raghuvir Singh.
 Vol.XI, Daulat Rao Sindhia's affairs (1943)
 Ed. Ray N.B.
 Vol.XIII, Elphinstone's Embassy (1952)
 Ed. Sardesai G.S.
 Vol.XIV Sindhian Affairs (1951) Ed. -Jadunath
 Sarkar.

- Phalke. :- Sindhishahi Itihasachi Sadhanen Vol.I, II,
 Ed. Sardar A.B. Phalke.
- Purandare. :- Purandare Daftar.
- Quango. :- Jaswant Rao Holkar, the golden Rogue by S.N. Quango.
- Rajwade. :- Marathyanhya Etihassachi Sadhanen (22 Vols.).
- Riyasat. :- Marathi Riyasat in 3 parts (purvadhra, Madhya,
 and uttal vibhag.) by G.S. Sardesai.
- Raghuvir Singh :- Malwa in Transition (First phase) (1698-1765)
 by Dr. Raghuvir Singh (Bombay 1936).
- Wakankar. :- Sindh Shahichya Itihasachi Sadhanen.
- Wakankar Waman Rao :- Dhar States Historical Records Series (1949).
- S.P.D. :- Selections from Peshwa Daftar Ed. -G.S. Sardesai
 (Vols. 45). Following Volumes have been used for
 this work.

Vol.13.:- Marathancha pravesh (1721, 1731) (Bombay 1931).
 (Letter are used i.e. 10, 17, 18, 27, 29, 49, 53).

- Vol.14. :- Peshwe Daft^{ry}artun Nivadalele Kagad patra
Marathanche Uttarekadil Parakram.
(Bombay 1931).
(Letter Nos.2, 12, 14,20,29,31,33, 36,37).
- Vol.15. :- Bajirawanchi Dilhiwaril Swari (Bombay 1931)
(Letter 12, 23, 25).
- Vol.17. :- Chhtrapati Shahu Ani Bajirao (Rajya Karbhar)
(Bombay 1931) (letters 1, 12)
- Vol.18. :- Chhtrapati Shahu Anni Peshwe Khajagi patra
Vahavar (Bombay 1931) (letters 22,)
- Vol.21. :- Peshwanchya Daftaratil uttare extracts from
the Peshwa Diaries (Bombay 1932)
(letters-15, { 16, 19, 31, 37 })
- Vol.23. :- Peshwa Balaji Bajirao Administration
(Not related to Malwa).
- Vol.27. :- Peshwa Balaji Bajirao and events in the
North (1741-1761) (Bombay 1933)
(letters-2,3,5,17,19,105,114,140,228,246,
271,272).
- Vol.29. :- Affairs of North India. Peshwa Madhav Rao I
(1761) (Bombay 1933) (letters 142,204,232,
238, 243).
- Vol.30. :- Miscellaneous papers of Shahu and his
first two Peshwa. (Bombay 1933).
(letters-75,)

- Vol.31. :- (Not related to *main period*)
- Vol.36. :- The first Maratha War (Anglo-Maratha War)
(Bombay 1934) (letters-4, 17, 19, 20).
- Vol.39. :- Peshwa Madhav³ Rao I Administrative papers
(Bombay 1934) (letters 4, 5, 10,)
- Vol.41. :- The last days of the Maratha Raj (1934)
(letters 4, 19, 20, 25).
- Vol.48. :- Documents illustrating (1934 Maratha
administration) (letters 15, 19, 25, 27).

S.P.D. :- Selection from the Peshwa Diaries edited vad
and parasnis. Vol. I, II, III, IV, VII and IX have
been used).

S.P.D. :- Selections from the Peshwa Daftar (New Series)
(Hindi sources) Ed.-Dr. Raghuvr Singh
(Kolhapur 1979).

Part-II.

The other abbreviation used are; according to Maratha, administration
and customs as under:

Bakhisnama. :- A deed of gift (A.S.O.M. p.281).

Baluta. :- A share of the corn and garden produce
assigned for the subsistence of the twelve
servants of a village; (J.S.O.M.p.XXII).

Chitnis. :- (From Chitthi, letter, and navisthan to write).
A correspondence clerk or Secretary (M.S.O.M.p.282).

Daftardar.

- :- An ancient public officer. His duty was to collect and frame in order the accounts of the waste book as prepared by the Padnis and to transmit monthly abstract accounts to the Huzur (prince or Peshwa of Kohhtrapati).
(A.S.O.M.p.665).

Diwan

- :- The Sarkar or Government the Supreme Authority (J.S.O.M.P.XXIII). The Head financial Minister, whether of the State or of a province...charged, in the letter, with the collection of the revenue the remittance of it to the Imperial treasury^e and invested with extensive judicial powers in all civil and financial causes.

Padnis.

- :- A public officer, the keeper of the registers etc. By him were issued all grants, commission, and orders, and to him were rendered all accounts from the other departments (Marathi English Dictionary).
(M.E.D.-by Moleworth p.n.547).

Farman.

- :- A royal Mandate, grant or patent (A.S.O.M.p. 666).

Faujdari.

- :- A Faujdar was a military Governor of a small district, Faujdari was an abwab or Abwabs (or *maqam/qatdar*) exacted by him M.O.S.M.
p.283.

- Gardi. :- An infantry soldier trained in European methods of warfare. A.S.O.M.P. 667.
- Cunhegari. :- A fine: A.S.O.M. p. 667.
- Hakkadar OR
Hagqudar. :- Any one having a claim or a right A.S.O.M. P. 667.
- Inam. :- A gift (from a superior) a favour but specially in India; a gift of rent free-land, also land so held, A grant of perpetuity A.S.O.M.P. 667.
- ^J
Jahagir or Bagir _^ :- (From Jah; a place; and giriftan to take) "A assignment of the land revenue of a certain number of village or of a sub-division" (William Irvine:- The army of the Indian Mughals. P. 14). A kind of feudal tenure J.S.O.M.P. XXIV).
- Jiryat or Jirait :- A land fit for agriculture as distinguished from bagayat land A.S.O.M.p. 667).
- Kamavis Jama. :- The revenue collected under the heads of fines; forfeits and other irregular heads or sources, Kamavisdar, a public officer, by him the revenue was collected.
- Kasba :- A chief town of a traf or a pargana; the old portion of the town, the town having a mart. J.S.O.M.P. XXIV.
- Khasqi paga. :- The Peshwa's private cavalry.
- Killedar. :- Officer in charge of a fort A.S.O.M.p. 668.

- Mahal :- A small division or a Government departments as in the twelve Mahals:- A.S.O.M.p.282.
- Mansab. :- "The word Mansab" is literally the place, where anything is put or corrected and then, as secondly meaning the state or condition of holding a place; dignity or office"(William Irvine:- The army of Indian Moghals.P.3.).
- Mokasa. :- Rent free land.
- Mokasi :- The holder of a Mokasa, or the farmer of the revenue of it on the part of the person holding or of the State-A.S.O.M.p.669).
- Mukhasa. :- A village or land assigned to an individual either rent free or at low quit rent on condition of service; or a village held khas by the state; the revenue being paid to the Government direct or the store of the Govt. in a village or in the revenue paid by it.J.S.O.M. P.XXV.
- Mulukgiri. :- (From Mulk; a country and giriftan; to take). Foreign or other terrotiere's expedition; generally a plundering raid; M.S.O.M.P.284.
- Nalbandi. :- Shoeing expenses paid to the silhedars.
- Pargana. :- A large division of a country with one or more towns at the head; a district J.S.O.M.P.XXVI.
- Potdar. :- An officer whose duty was to assay all money paid into the Treasury M.S.O.M.P.285.
- Pradhan. :- A Minister-M.S.O.M.P.285.

Rabi.

:- The vernal crop-A.S.O.M.p.669.

Sanad.

:- A commission or a Warrant-A.S.O.M.p.670.

Saranjam.

:- Village granted for maintaining any army.

A.S.O.M.P.670."Land held in saranjam involve the condition of Military service; the term is of persian origin, meaning, "furniture apparatus", implaying that the lands are to defray the expense of equipment in fact suranjam is synonymous with military Jaheer".(Sykes-"Special Report of the statistics of the four collectors of Dukhan under the British Government.p.286.

~~Wakx~~ Watan.

:- One's native country, an heneditary estate; office, right, a dignity or a chattaY due, any hereditary right, whether in land or in office. Every thing of value was brought under the conception of watan; one's land; one's office-J.S.O.M.XXVIII.

Watandar.

:- One who has a Watan-A.S.O.M.P.671.

Watanpatra.

:- A memorandum-Scrpal list, roll.J.S.O.M.P. XXVIII.

A HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL PERSONALITY OF MALWA :

The geographical name Malwa or Malva is certainly derived from the name of an ancient Indian people called 'Malava'. This well-known track in Central India became famous under this name. The said Malva territory is a table-land of uneven surface between 1500 and 2000 ft above the sea-level bounded on the West by the Aravalli-range, on the south by the Vindhyas, on the East by the Bundel -
-Khand and on the North-east by the valley of the Ganges. (1)

Dr. Sirkar suggests that 'the name Malava is like that of the Malaya -Mountain-range; is probable derived from the Dravidian word Malai- meaning Hill. Thus originally it meant a Dravidian Hill-tribe'. (2) This is based on speculation, because there is no concrete evidence of the existence of a Hill-tribe of this name in the South. A.C. Carlleyle and V. A. Smith on the same basis of the peculiar legends holds that, "there are the name of foreign rulers". (3) It may be concluded from this point that the Malvas were foreigners. But J. Allen rightly points out that, "they are too late for the sakas and too early for the Hunas" (4). But these do not bear any resemblance to any Saka or Huna names.

However, J. Allen thinks that these are not personal names as they are without any normal genitive suffix. Against

this, it may be pointed out that even the Nagas, to which some of the Malva points are closely related; has no use of genetive sign.(5) Some of the classical writers furnish interesting details about their physiognomy.

One of them says that, they were of great structure and were amongst the tallest men in Asia. Their complexion was black and they were very simple in their habits. But from the legends of the coins which belongs to the third or fourth century A.D. and the accounts of the classical writers and literary sources no conclusion can be drawn regarding their origin. We do not find such names of the Malvas in the *Mandsor* ~~inscriptions~~ inscription (6).

Rajballi Pandey suggests that "the Malvas branched off from the Malla People of the famous Mal^a-Rashtra situated in the Gordkhpur division of uttar-Pradesh. The Mallas were the decendents of Ishwaku of the solar race.

MALWA ON THE EVE OF MARATHA CONQUEST:

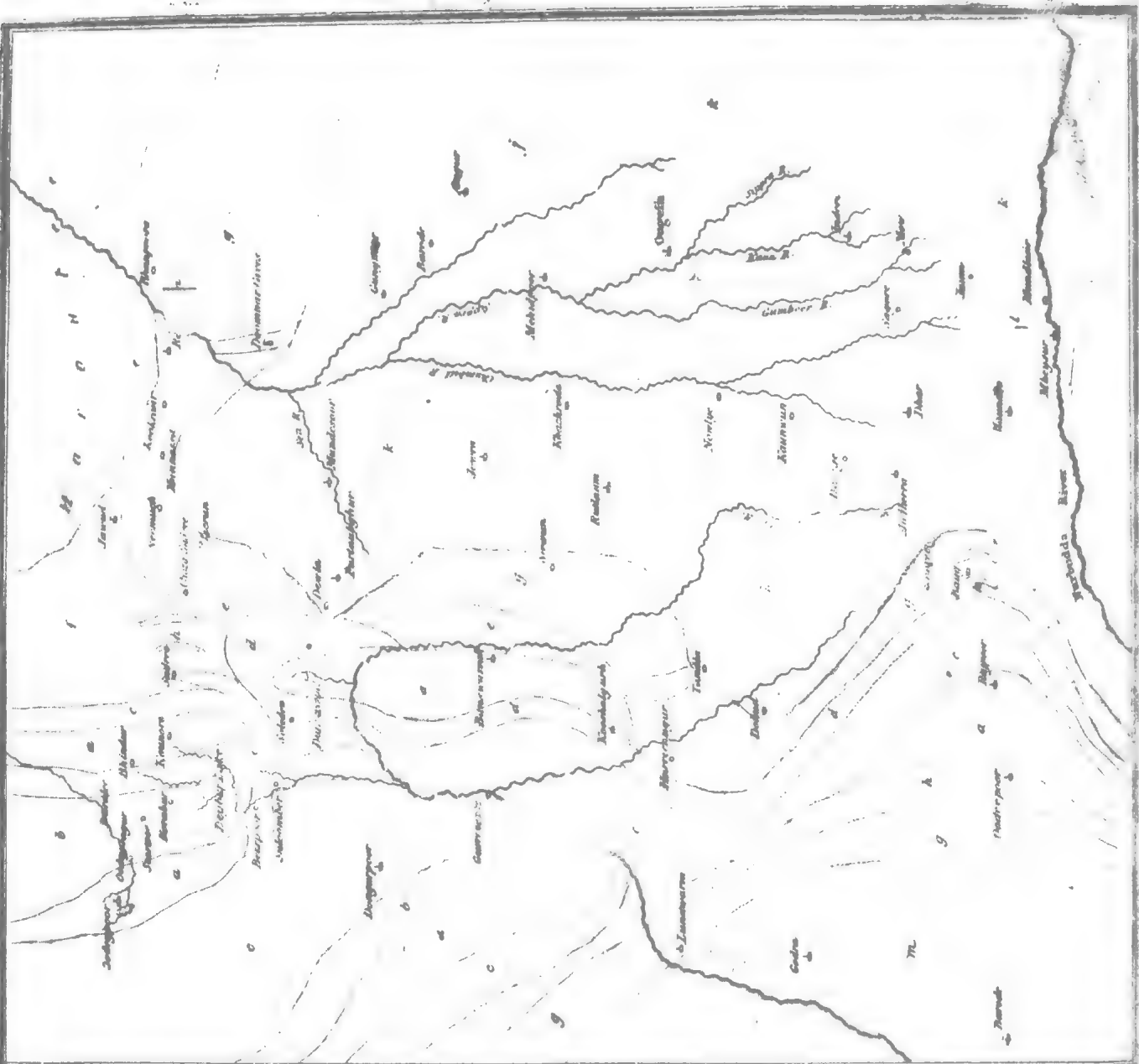
The contribution of the Malwa to Indian culture are remarkable. It seems that from the Seventh Century, Malwa settled in one particular region known as Malwa. The strategical importance of Malwa was very great. It was link which joined North India

with South India. All the military routes to the Deccan passed through it; So also the routes to Gujrat and to the Sea Ports on the western coast. For striking at Rajputana; Gondwana or Berar, Malwa afforded an Excellent Military base. The importance

of Malwa increased with Aurangzeb's wars in Deccan, when Aurangzeb was fighting in the Deccan and the Marathas began their aggressive policy; they began to attack Malwa; in order to cut-off the communication between the Royal camp and Northern India(7).

After Aurangzeb's death and ^{ultimate} ~~ultimate~~ down fall ~~of~~ of Mughal Empire, Mughals and Maratha tried to control Malwa to achieve its own aim. However, Malwa was never fully dominated by the Muslims, even though it was once ruled over by the independent Muslim kings of Malwa. Specially in the later days of that local sultanate the Hindu domination was rather a rule than an exceptions; Basant-Rai was long a minister; while Rajputs too held dominant position for long. First, there were those Rajputs who had established themselves in Malwa, when the Rajputs dominated the whole of India. These Rajputs had lost their touch with those of Rajputana; they had made Malwa their home, its problems were their problems; and above all, its kingdom was their own kingdom, they practically indentified themselves with Malwa.(8).

In 1698 A.D. there was however, another set of Rajputs in Malwa, who classed themselves as true Rajputs of the purest blood and as such purer than those of the first set. This set consisted of those Rajputs who came from the Royal families of Rajputana, who had served the Mughals very faithfully; had proved their mettle and were rewarded with grants of land in Malwa. These Rajput brought their relatives, friends and dependents with them in Malwa and founded states and enjoyed powers due to the Imperial favour; these



GEOLOGICAL SKETCH

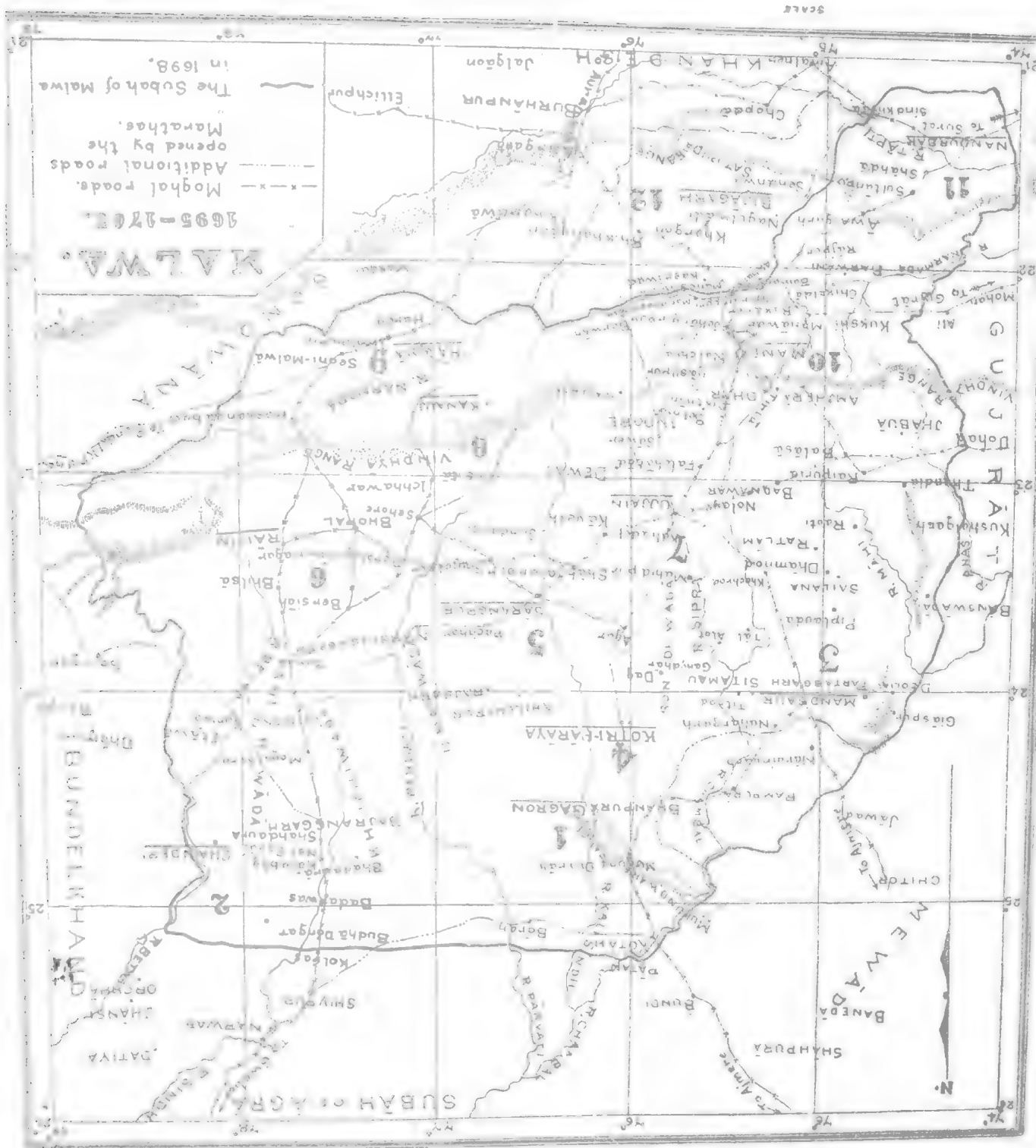
of
M. A. L. W. A.
 and part of the
 adjoining Provinces.

- a Granite
- b Gneiss
- c Sand, clay and shaly slates
- d Sand, shale and clay, top to 100
- e Mica-schist, porphyry &c.
- f Blue or compact limestone
- g Sandstone and sandstone
- h Coarse-grained sandstone
- i Shale, clay from Ore
- k Trap and amygdaloidal
- l Basaltic lava
- m Alluvium

Rajputs princes and their circle of society became dictators in the social matters of the Rajput race in Malwa. The new set of Rajputs and their newly granted landed-estates supplied the necessary factor of stability and support to the Empire. But these states had their weak points. The number of such states was the greatest in Malwa, but the founders as well as their early descendants did not get enough time to organize their states nor to secure their hold over the lands and the people within the state, as they were kept busy in the distant south with the Imperial army. The states helped the Empire as long as they hoped that the Empire would win in the end; but when the utter break-up of the Empire, they began to think of making their own position safe(9). Soon however, the Imperial forces were thus left to fight single handed against the Marathas invading from the Deccan. The Maratha invaders defeated Imperial forces and established Maratha supremacy- over Malwa.

NEW ROUTES IN MALWA.

The trade and other routes which passed through Malwa also changed to some extent with the establishment of the Maratha power in the province. In the Seventeen-thirties, when the struggle was going on, the Maratha forces generally moved-up to Garha and Saugor and entered Malwa near Kurwai. Their footing in Malwa had not yet been established. But with the strengthening of their position in South-Western Malwa; the Akbarpur ferry and the fords near Barwah joined ... importance. The route to Burhanpur by way of Handiana was practically abandoned, as it passed through the territories of the Principalities



of Bhopal, Khichiwada and Ahirwada, where anti Maratha feeling prevailed more. The new route followed by the Maratha armies in the fifties was thus, "they crossed the Narmada generally at Barwah and went to Ujjain Rampura and crossed the Chambal at Kotah and entered Rajputana(10). As this route passed through the lands inhabited by the Sondhias, a class of early Rajputs settlers in Malwa, the Marathas had to put them down to make the road safe. The armies going to Delhi moved from Kotah to Shivpuri, Narwar and Gwalior. This change in route greatly reduced the political importance of Sironj, which, however, continued as a stronghold of the Marathas, because from this point they controlled Ahirwada Khichiwada and Bhopal(11).

THE POSITION OF THE MARATHA POWER AT THE END OF THE 17TH CENTURY.:

The greatness of Shivaji lies not only in his first class military exploits, but also in his qualities of a great statesman. He had an ideal and clear conception of Hindu swarajya in his mind. His administrative system marks him out as one of the greatest statesman; not only of his own time, but also of all times. The policy of Shivaji had two aims. Firstly, the security of the Maratha state, which he wanted to develop duly into an all India Hindu Empire. Secondly he wanted to bring happiness and contentment to his subjects, both Hindu and Muslim(12).

However, English Historian John Malcolm and even Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb criticised Maratha as a "Free booters". But Justice M.G. Ranade appropriately deals with this problem. According to him, "mere free broters and plunders never could have obtained success in such a way against such a foe". It was higher moral forces, which brought out all the virtues of the best men of the nation during ^{heroism} herosim; noble endurance, administrative skills which rose higher with every disappointment, a faith while was never shaken; devotion to high ideal which independent of time, place or person, a sense of brother-hood in common danger, a spirit of complete-self sacrifice and mutual concession for the Commongood; a trust in the final success of their cause; because it was the cause of their religion. These were the virtues which enabled the patriots of this generation to accomplish the delevarence of their country from a danger, which no other race in India had been able to withstand" (13).

The administrative system of Shivaji practically continued; till the death of Rajaram and Peshwa also left it ^{with} intact a few changes in the central-Government. Sir. Jadunath Sarkar has paid his a glowing tribute to chhatrapati Rajaram in these words, "I regard him as the last great constructive genius and a nation builder that the Hindu race has never produced. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation found a state and defeat enemies. Shivaji has b shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise beneath the seemingly crushing lead of centuries of political bondage; that.....

it can put forth new leaves and branches, it can again lift its head to the skies"(14).

Chhatrapati Sambhaji, the son of Chhatrapati Shivaji, lacked in him many qualities of his father. The indecision, superstition and the lust for pleasure in his character made him unable to check the rapid progress of the Mughal army led by Aurangzeb himself (15). The cruel murder of Sambhaji on March 11, 1689; was the turning point in the history of the Marathas (16). The effect of his brutal and stupid punishment was very un auspicious for the Mughal Empire. The Maratha people heard of the Murder of the son of Chhatrapati Shivaji with indignation and wrath. Aurangzeb thought Sambhaji's murder to be the end of the Deccan problems, "but in fact it was the beginning of his end" (17).

Santaji Ghorpade, Dhanaji Jadhav, Prahlad-Niraji-Ramchandrapant and others assembled at Raigad and decided to defend the Maratha-Raj. Many of these great warriors began to plunder the Mughal territory and showed uncontroversial valour and courage. Unfortunately the success of these brave warriors was soon overshadowed by a calamity.(brutal murder of Ghorpade and internal - differences) On November 3, 1689, the imperial army captured the fort of Raigad together with Chhatrapati-Shahu, the son of late Sambhaji and his mother Yesubai (18).

The release of Shahu i.e. after the death of Aurangzeb in February 1707, opened a new chapter in the History of the Deccan. As Zulfiqar-Khan had fore-told, a civil war ensued amongst the

Maratha chiefs. Tanabai, the widow of Rajaram; Challenged the claims of Shahu against her own son the young Shivaji II. She argued "that the Maratha kingdom had been reared up with painful toil by the great Shivaji. This was lost by Sambhaji, Shahu's father, and her husband Rajaram raised the edifice a new out of ashes. She also argued that the great Shivaji had expressed a wish on his death-bed that the succession should go to his second son Rajaram; the elder, Sambhaji being unfit to rule. Shahu thus in no way could lay any claim to the Gadi" (19). Ultimately Shahu, with the support of powerful chiefs succeeded in the struggle and was coronated on 12th January 1708 at Satara (20).

PESHWA BALAJI VISHVANATH AND DEVELOPMENT OF FEUDATORY SYSTEM.

The history of the later Maratha period (18th Century) is the history of the supermacy of the house of Chitpavan-Brahmins in the capacity of the Peshwa or Prime Minister of Chhatrapati. Chhatrapati Shahu lacked the qualities of a general in the battle field; but he possessed great human qualities. The rise of the Peshwa and that of the New-Maratha chiefs, the founder of the Maratha States in the north went simultenously.

Balaji¹⁹-Vishwanath paved the way to the policy of expansion. He was well ~~acquainted~~ acquainted with the deteriorating condition of the Mughal Empire, and had a desire to take advantage from

it. Chhatrapati Shahu also was worried due to the release of his mother Yeshubai and other kingsmen, who were still under the captivity at Delhi. Balaji soon found the opportunity to get his master relieved of his anxieties. Saiyyad Hussain Ali, the Mughal Governor in Deccan, when found his position weak, proposed a treaty with the Marathas. The treaty was concluded in 1718 AD.; According to this treaty, "a big territory in Kandesh, Berar, Gondwana, Hyderabad and Karnatak was brought to the Maratha Raj. Hussain Ali also agreed to the release of Shahu's mother and other relatives" (21).

Moreover, the terms were settled pending confirmation by the Emperor at Delhi. It was decided that Balaji should proceed to Delhi to get the terms of the treaty ratified by the Emperor and to arrange for the release of Shahu's family (22). Balaji alongwith his trusted officers. Khande-Rao Dabhade, Tukoji-Pawar, Santaji Bhonsle and Hingne etc. proceeded to Delhi. During this historic travel of Balaji Vishwanath, Tukoji Pawar, MalharRao Holkar; Ranoji Sindhia, the future founder of the Pawar, Holkar, and Shindhia's states were came in contact him (23).

Balaji's Motives were altogether selfish. He wanted to increase the material resources and power of his family by hereditary Jahagirdari system led to hereditary offices for the one inspired from the officers. Thus it is that he created not only a feudatory system; but also hereditary offices. It is no wonder therefore that many

sardars like Holkar, Sindhia, Pawar, Jadhav and others received rich Jahagirs. The system of Jahagir, which came into existence, the powerful class of feudatory chiefs, was then, the first cause of the weakness of Monarchy under Chhatrapati Shahu.

The Mughal system worked well because of the Diwans, the revenue heads, the subhedars. The military heads unlike the Maratha sardars were mere servants of the great Autocrat; the Mughal Emperor. The Maratha Government, however decentralized confedracy, was not a centralized monarchy, Chhatrapati Shahu's orders ere for only humble servants, but his friends and supporters and also Balaji Vishavanath thereby secured for the Maratha State a Sphere of influence, which was the precursor of the Maratha Empire. The collection of the tribunate definid their share of influence and gradually tightened their grip, on the country's subjects to the payment of taxes. By throwing forward a share of influence, Balaji Vishavanath only made a humble beginning and left the scheme of founding an Empire to the others more fit to undertake the business(24). The Peshwa Balaji Vishwanant clearly saw that Shahu lacked the qualities of leadership and talents of a successful ruler; hence the substituted for the autocracy of the king in the forthcoming Maratha confederacy. Sardeshmukhi coluction was direct to the King or Chhatrapati. Out of the collection of Chauth and the

revenue realised from the Jagirs, they had to pay 25% mokasa; 6% sahotra and 3% Nadgauda to the king. This left 66% with the feudatory (25).

The feudatories had been made responsible for the maintenance of law and order.(situation) The only control was the appointment of revenue officials of the feudatory by the central authority. Different establishments of the royal house-hold were maintained by different sardars. However, Balaji tried to knit the Maratha^a Chiefs into a system of interdependence and that was the beginning of the Maratha confederacy. He also secured a sphere of influence for the Maratha-Sardars by obtaining the right of collecting chauth and Sardeshmukhi. But the foundation of an Empire, was never laid in the proper way. Thus the Marathas achieved a loose confederacy of Semi-independent chiefs and failed to establish an Empire (26). But unfortunate death of Balaji-Vishwanath put a problem before Chhatrapati-Shahu; but he soon recognised the qualities of Bajirao I.

PESHAWA BAJI-RAO AND HIS EXPANSIONIST POLICY :-

In embarking upon a policy of conquest Bajirao I, had thought that he would be able to divert the attention of the Marathas from their domestic ^aquarrels to united action in view ^{work} of territorial expansion. ^{They} therefore followed a policy of pure ^adominion towards the Maratha confederacy.

THE REAL CAUSES OF THE MARATHA INVASION IN MALWA.

Various causes have been assigned for the invasions of Malwa by the Marathas and for the wonderful success; they met with that province. The ideal of the Peshwa was to establish "Hindu-pad-Padshahi". (Hindu paramountcy over the whole of India). According to Sir John Malcolm, "It was a kind of holy war against the Mughal Empire; which appeared to be the embodiment of the anti-Hindu policy and spirit of Aurangzeb"(27). He explains the easy success of the Maratha in Malwa as follows.

- i) During the period 1698-1707, the Marathas were fighting against Aurangzeb for their existence and they thought first of invading Malwa, just to divert the attention of the Emperor.
- ii) The idea of raiding a rich province like Malwa continued to attract the imagination of the Maratha Statesman even; when the pressure of Aurangzeb had ceased by the year 1719, they had gained their right to levy dues on all lands ^{in the} south of the Narmada.
- iii) The invasion of Malwa was the next logical step and when a new Peshwa, who had not only seen the weakness of the Empire, with his own eyes but was full of ambitious schemes, came to control the destiny of the Maratha State, an expansion of the field of activity, was but natural, and the province of Malwa had to meet the new rushing side.

iv) The Peshwa was deep in debt and he wanted money to pay it off. It was not possible for him to realize huge sums at home or in the Deccan(28).

Therefore, the main cause of invasion was economic. At the end of October 1728 (29). Bajirao was anxious to pay off the debts incurred by Chhatrapati Shahu in the late struggle with the Nizam. Chimaji Appa, the brother of Bajirao I having left Puna clearly states the chief aim of the expansion was thus, "the sum and substance of the whole thing is to follow a policy by which debts may end and permanent arrangements be made for the future". He advised Chimaji to keep this fact in view and to send money at an early date" (30). The Peshwa enunciated his policy to Chhatrapati Shahu, "by directing our efforts to Hindustan, the Maratha flag shall fly from the Krishna to Attock"(31).

Thus the provinces of the Mughal Empire appeared to be the only places, whence the money could be forthcoming, Gujrat and Malwa were the nearest to the Deccan; but the former had been dominated by the Maratha general Dabhade, which left Malwa alone to the Peshwa(32). Moreover, there were many general reasons for Bajirao's desire of the conquest of Hindustan. Firstly, he minutely studied the deteriorating condition of Mughal Empire.

The Emperor was merely a puppet in the hands of Saiyads. In this position, it was not difficult to attack the provinces of the Mughal Empire. Referring to the Mughal Empire, BajiRao said, "let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree; the branches must fall of themselves". Shahu ultimately approved the policy proposed by Baji-Rao and gave him a free hand to deal with the situation (33).

Secondly, he also pointed out that the best way to replenish the empty treasury was not to waste resources in the barren plains of the Deccan; but to attack and plunder the rich provinces of Hindustan (34). Thirdly, it became very necessary, for the Maratha power to check the progress of the Nizam, who wanted to establish him an independent kingdom in the Deccan (35). With all these above said reasons together with the spirit of high valour, BajiRao I, decided to implement his policy and establish Hindu kingdom in the North as well as in ^{the} south. He aimed at subjecting the other members of the confederacy ^{to} to his absolute control both in their internal and external relations. In other words, his ambition was to regulate the home and foreign policy of the Marathas, as the Peshwa's central — authority. Besides he was the only man, who could have done just to all interests, alike including his own and yet advanced those of the state. The Marathas alone aspired to build up an empire and they had nearly succeeded in bringing practically the whole of India, under their direct or indirect control.

RULERS AND GOVERNORS POLICY TOWARDS MALWA 1-

The conquest of Malwa was the first step in the policy of expansion in the North which the Peshwa had adopted. The conquest of Bundelkhand and Gujrat went simultaneously. Malwa formed a link between the Deccan and Hindustan. Therefore the rulers of the North always adopted the policy of keeping the province of Malwa under their control. It was more because of its strategic position and its prosperity.

The death of Aurangzeb in 1707, brought about the rapid decline of the Mughal power in the Deccan and Malwa. Frequent changes in the Governorship and the rise of Saiyads and Nizam and their combating tendencies created a favourable opportunity for the invaders in Malwa. The Governors of the provinces were ^{apathetic} ~~apathetic~~ to the internal administration. This official ~~disregarded~~ ^{disregarded} for its internal affairs, helped the growth of the various principalities in Malwa (36). These principalities helped the powerful invaders; because of the fear and dissatisfaction with the Governors.

On the 20th February, 1719, Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed as the Governor of Malwa. With his arrival in Malwa. (May-1719) ~~the~~ ~~history~~.

To achieve this object the Nizam obtained the sub^hedari of the Deccan from the Emperor and crossed ~~the~~ the Narmada on 8th May 1720 AD. at Akbarpur. Besides BajiRao I and the Nizam, there was one more ambitious ruler who was anxious to capture Malwa. Sawai-Jai-Singh, the ruler of Amber had a desire to annex Malwa to his own dominion. He wanted to establish his hold from Jamuna to Narmada (37). He understood the rising strength of the Marathas and therefore, never came directly in conflict with them, while he remained friendly with the Marathas.

He hoped that he could keep the Maratha out of the province by paying them their dues regularly and thus he could perpetuate his hold on the province. But he could hope to become Governor of Malwa, only if the Maratha made the position safe. With this aim in view, he helped the Marathas and advised the Hindu-Princes of Malwa not to oppose the invaders from the South. This attitude of Jaisingh towards the Marathas was not out of any religious sentiments, but purely on the basis of his political ambition(38). Moreover, Nizam, Baji-Rao and Jaisingh desired to bring Malwa under their occupation. Neither, the Nizam, nor Jaisingh cared for the interest of the Mughal Empire.

MARATHA'S FIRST EXPEDITION ON MALWA :-

The Nizam was replaced by Raja-Girdhar Bahadur as the Governor of Malwa in August 1722 (39). Soon after this change, Bajirao decided to lead an expedition to Malwa. He reached Burhanpur on ~~the~~ 18th January, 1723, and crossed the Narmada on 1st February. Thereafter he proceeded towards Dhar and camped at Gardawad. On February 13, ¹⁷²³~~1722~~, Bajirao reached Badaksha near Jhabuwa and there he waited for the arrival of Nizam. Perhaps Bajirao in this meeting with the Nizam wanted to settle the division of provinces in Deccan, Gujrat and Malwa between Nizam and the Marathas (40). This meeting of the Nizam and Bajirao continued upto 19th February ¹⁷²³~~1722~~ (41). It appears, the meeting of these two chiefs could not bring about any substantial change in the settlement of these provinces (42).

The main object of Bajirao in this expedition was to establish his claim of "Chauth" and realize tribute from the principalities of Malwa; especially on the western borders of the province. Many of his Generals were collecting their dues alongwith the arrears of the previous years. The chief Generals of Bajirao, in this expeditions were Udaji Pawar, Pilaji-Jadhav and Kanthaji Kadam bande (43). The name of MalharRao Holkar; is not mentioned in this expedition. The omission of his name may be owing to his Junior position among the Generals. It can be inferred that he was also included in

His campaign with his force under Kadam Bande. On the basis of Madloi Daftar; G.S.Sardesai records the career of MalharRao from the year 1720 AD., regarding the events in Malwa(44).

According to G.S.Sardesai "in 1723 24, MalharRao Holkar and Udaji Pawar captured Indore and Dhar respectively"(45). Thus it can safely be said that MalharRao was active in Malwa from about 1720 AD.

MARATHAS' SECOND EXPEDITION ON MALWA:

At the end of 1723 AD. Bajirao again led a campaign to invade Malwa. He despatched his Generals in advance. At this time, MalharRao also accompanied with the Peshwa. At first Bajirao stayed in Nimar for about two Months(46). At this critical situation, the Nizam desired to meet Bajirao in order to secure his help in the affairs of the Deccan(47). On may 18, 1724, while the Peshwa reached Nalchha,(near Mandu) to meet the Nizam. MalharRao proceeded towards Bhopal to settle the terms with Yarmohmad Khan(48).

The Maratha Sardars used to collect the dues actively.

Ambaji Pant; Udaji Pawar and others were collecting and settling the affairs with the local rulers. Udaji Pawar, at this time was given a definite grant of 'Mokasa', dues of Dhar and Jhabuwa districts(49). Krishanaji Hari Trimbak Gangadhar; Kesho Madeo and Jankoji Bhonsale were made incharge of Indore and other districts of

Malwa (50). While the Marathas were busy in establishing their power in Malwa; Girdhar-Bahadur was appointed the Governor of Malwa for the second time in June 1725 AD.(51).

Looking to the grants and appointments ^{made} ~~made~~ by the peshwa in Malwa, it appears that the position of MalharRao Holkar as an independent in-charge of some districts ^{was} ~~was~~ like that of Udaji Pawar.

MARATHA'S THIRD EXPEDITION :-

In July 1725, the Maratha chiefs again appeared in Malwa to collect the dues. The Peshwa did not come this time, and he remained busy in the affairs of the Deccan. Daya-Bahadur, the cousin of Girdhar Bahadur, restrained the Maratha activities with all his valour. The Marathas were Practically driven out of the province. They could not collect a single rupee inspite of their best efforts(52).

MalharRao Holkar had earned the reputation of a Military General, in these expedition and was rewarded for his services by peshwa. In August 1727, he was granted a Saramjam of 11 districts for the Maintenance of his life. Among these districts; 6 were in Gujrat; 4 in Malwa and 1 in ^Kandesh (53). In the year 1728 AD. MalharRao Holkar once again brought credit to his name at the battle of Palkhed. The battle of palkhed was fought between the Nizam

and the Marathas. MalharRao was entrusted with the charge of cutting the communication of the enemy(54). He discharged his duty in the best possible way and gradually became the master of these tactics of the guerrilla warfare. The battle of Palkhed proved the turning point in the career of MalharRao Holkar and that of the Peshwa as well. After this battle a new team of the young sardars was brought forward by the Peshwa.

Ranoji Sindhia and MalharRao Holkar were included in this team of the young and energetic generals(55). These young chiefs gave their full assistance to advance the policy of the Peshwa in the conquest of the North. After being free from the Nizam, the Peshwa and his chiefs found themselves unable to complete the conquest of the Malwa.

It should be noted here that MalharRao Holkar and Udaji Rao Pawar made special efforts in winning this battle; as well as further expeditions against the Mughal authorities in Malwa. They were now well conversant, with the routes, rivers and ways to construct the bridges wherever necessary. In fact, the victory at Amjera brought Holkar in the lime light. He had created a significant position for himself in the eyes of the Peshwa and his brother Chimmaji Appa. The Peshwa frequently wrote to his brother to keep MalharRao and Udaji Pawar pleased(56).

He (BajiRao I) directed his brother to collect money as much as possible. The Peshwa wrote, "press upon the capital ^{Ujjain} ~~Ujjain~~, with all speed so as to obtain funds with which to pay the Chhatrapati's debts. We rely upon Holkar and Pawar, all for following up this first achievements with equal persistence. Convey to them all my congratulations and an assurance of our good intentions" (57). Thus the Peshwa had well recognised the value of the services of Malhar-Rao Holkar and Udaji-Pawar, ~~for the~~ ^{the} conquest of Malwa and ~~further~~ ^{further} ~~the~~ Northern India.

Soon however, after the battle of Amjhera, the Maratha Generals remained busy in collecting money from the local principalities (58). In 1729 and some time afterwards; Rao Nandlal-Mandloi of Indore was reminded repeatedly by the Peshwa; Chimmaji-Appa, and MalharRao Holkar to come over to see them and settle the revenue of the territory (59). This clearly indicates the rapid decline of the Mughal power in Malwa. The firm Maratha hold over the province and acute disunity among the Mughal officers; were the main causes of this deterioration. From the above mentioned events it becomes clear that Malhar-Rao Holkar and Udaji-Pawar were the sole leaders of the Maratha campaigns in the Malwa.

UDAJI PAWAR'S WITHDRAWAL FROM MALWA:-

However; Udaji Pawar displeased the Peshwa, when he asked his share equal to the Peshwa's Share in the Saramjam (60).

The Peshwa could not agree this demand. This led to the decline of Udaji's leadership in Malwa. The Peshwa now settled the terms with Anand-Rao-Pawar; younger brother of Udaji-Pawar who was granted saramjam in the year 1732-1733 AD. (61). Udaji's withdrawal from Malwa made Malhar-Rao Holkar superme in the affairs of Malwa. On October 3, 1730, he was granted a saramjam of 74 parganas in the province, with all rights pertaining to its. Now Malhar-Rao made his efforts to realize the dues from these parganas of province. He sent strong letters to Rao-Nandlal-Mandloi of Indore and took him to task for non-payment of his dues (62).

MUHAMMAD KHAN BANGASH'S DEFEAT AND MARATHA'S STRONG HOLD ON MALWA.

Though the Maratha hold over the southern Malwa was completely established and Malhar-Rao Holkar and other Chiefs were maintaining it. Yet during the year 1730, Nizam and Muhammad-Khan-Bangash, the Governor of Malwa; ^{made} ~~made~~ several attempts to superess and drive out the Marathas from the Malwa. MalharRao accepted the challange and successfully checked the activities of Bangash at different places in Malwa. In doing so; he reached Sarangpur in January 1731; and he pursued the enemy upto the Dhar (63). A battle was fought near Dhar with no decisive results (64).

Being disgusted with the Marathas, Bangash then met; the Nizam

on March 17th, 1731, on the bank of Narmada. Hence they decided to help the opponents of the Peshwa i.e. Dabhade, Gaikwad and Udaji-Pawar. But this plan failed; when Bajirao I and the Nizam agreed to the peace treaty (65). Soon however, Bangash was defeated by Holkar on March 1731, near Sarangapur (66).

Thus the efforts of MalharRao Holkar made the Maratha strong hold ^{st-ry} over the Malwa. The Maratha hold now had extended upto Sironj. In the duration of these events, Ranoji Sindhia was made an associate with Holkar. Perhaps the Peshwa thought it better to put a check over the power of MalharRao Holkar. On the year 1731, these two chiefs Holkar and Sindhia were jointly entrusted with the affairs of Malwa (67). They began to conduct the affairs of the administration jointly. The Peshwa also gave the authority to use the seals of their own, for the purpose of the administration of the province (68).

After the defeat of Muhammad-Khan Bangash, the Emperor was ready to offer, to the Peshwa chauth and sardeshmukhi of the Subha of Malwa; an assignment of thirteen lakhs of rupees on the revenue of districts, south of the Chambal and authority to levy tribute from the Rajput States. With Muhammad-Khan Bangash returned from Southern Malwa was lost to the Mughal Empire. The breakdown of the imperial power in Malwa was complete (69).

The Peshwa now sent in his final demands to the Mughal Empire and he went on raising his claims till at last he demanded:-

- i) The subha of Malwa ^{inclusive} ~~inclusive~~ of the tributary states to be granted in Jahagir to Peshwa.
- ii) The Rohila chiefs of Bhopal and Bhilsa to be ejected from the province and their Jagirs to be made over the Peshwa.
- iii) The forts of Mandu, Dhar and Raisen to be ceded to the Peshwa.
- iv) The territory up to the chambal to be granted to the peshwa in Jahagir.
- v) An assignment of ⁵⁰ ~~20~~ lakh of rupees or the revenue of Bengal to relive the Peshwa's debts.
- vi) The cession of the holy places of Allahabad, Banaras, Mathura and Gaya (70).

From the modest demands for cession of chauth and sardeshmukhi of Malwa and war indeminty to meet his debts, the Peshwa had gone on to asks for the virtual control on Malwa; and within a decade Malwa passed into the hands of the Marathas.

SAWAI JAISINGH'S DEFEAT AND ESTABLISHMENT OF MARATHA SUPREMACY :-

At the end of 1732, the Mughal Emperor, appointed Raja Sawai Jaisingh, the Governor of Malwa. The unsuccessful Bangash was recalled. The failure of Bangash had alreddy indicated that

the Marathas had an upper hand in the affairs of the province. Jaisingh when reached to Ujjain in December 1732; preferred the peaceful method to be adopted with the Marathas (71).

Soon however, Ranoji Shindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar defeated the new Governor in the battle of 1733, near Mandsaur (72). At this stage Udaji Pawar and Krishanaji Pawar were tempted by Jaisingh to join him. But Malhar Rao Holkar was much faithful to the peshwa; Plundered Udaji Pawar's camp. The Pawars were rebuked-severely and compelled to withdraw themselves from the Jaisingh's side. Jaisingh being frustrated offered six lakh of rupees ^{to} for the negotiations; but MalharRao asked for more (73). When Jaisingh was preparing himself for the negotiations; the news came that the Emperor himself was anxious to send forces to Malwa to help Jaisingh. Emboldened by this news, Rajputs came forward and suddenly attacked the Marathas. Due to this sudden attack; MalharRao had to retreat for about 30 miles. But soon he improved his position and compelled Jaisingh to surrender(74). This happened near Manduar in the last week of February - 1733 (75). Ultimately Jaisingh accepted to pay Six Lakhs of rupees and for that price surrendered 28 parganas to the - Marathas (76). After the humiliating defeats against Marathas, he returned to his newly founded capital Jaipur and never

looked to the affairs of Malwa. The settlement of the year 1722 practically laid the foundation of the four Maratha states in Malwa i.e. Holkar, Sindhia, AnandRao Pawar and the two Pawar brothers; Tukeji and Jiwaji Pawar (77).

Jaisingh promised to pay the daily expenses of the Maratha forces (Rs.5,000 a day) in addition to cash payment of the chauth for Malwa and the rent of pilaji's Jahagir in northern Malwa near Nar-wdr (78). This successive advances of the Marathas into the imperial territories ~~was~~ were alarming not only to the Mughal Emperor, but also ^{to} for the neighbouring states. When in 1720 AD. BajiRao I became the Peshwa, Systematic expansion towards North became definate and declared policy of the Marathas.

The illustrious scholar of the Maratha, the late Mr. Justice Randde as well as European Historian have dwelt on this subject exhaustively that, "Peshwa BajiRao I has been

considered as the second founder of the Maratha power and it would be gratifying duly to see how, BajiRao I, extended this power beyond the Narmada and how infact BajiRao I

raised Chhtrapati Shivaji's small states to the status of an empire (79). Peshwa BajiRao I exerted himself to the utmost in raising the dormant energy of the Maratha people and directly, it to the extension of the Maratha power to the rich province of Hindustan. The soundness of peshwa BajiRao's

excellent views has further been demonstrated by the glorious success which attended his invasion of Malwa in 1725 AD. The laudable energy and confidence, which the peshwa evince in fitting out the expedition; which was fought out with extremely important political and territorial advantages and which opened for the first time, the way for the subjugation of the whole of Hindustan deserved attendition. Chhtrapati Shahu delivered a memorable speech that, "Now drive the Mughals from the land of Hindus and to acquire immortal renown" (80). India was in a state of political transition and national frustration by the end of the seventeenth century. Maratha power had begun to show signs of revival and expansion under the guidance of Balaji-Vishwanath, on whom the Chhatrapati Shahu bestowed the highest power in whom that the king of Marathas had full confidence.

On september 29, 1736 Muhammad Shah issued an imperial farman to Bajirao, granting him Jahagir, a Mansab of 7 hazari, the Mahals of his watan and right to perquisites. Having been appointed by the Emperor as the deputy-Governor of Malwa, the Peshwa went over to occupy the province. It was promised that Bajirao's demands for 15 lakhs would be met on his going to Delhi (81). Ranoji

Sindhia, pilaji Jadhav, Holkar, Anand Rao Power, Tukoji Power and Jiwaji Pawar.

NIZAM'S ULTIMATE DEFEAT AND MARATHA'S SUPREMACY OVER THE MALWA :

The Emperor naturally refused to accept these terms and all negotiations with Peshwa. Bajirao I. The Imperial court thus found an opportunity to concert measures for making warlike preparations during the absence of the Peshwa and his sardars Malhar Rao Holkar, Ranoji Sindhia and others. The old Nizam, who had never missed an opportunity to act against the Maratha Power by various stragems, was called from the Deccan and was requested to guide the Imperial court in their endeavours to resist(82).

The news of the Nizam going to Hindustan had its effects on Malwa. The Zamindars near Indore refused to pay the dues to the Maratha agents(83). Bajirao was duly informed of these turnings of the political wheel at Delhi. He issued instructions to all the Maratha Sardars to be ready for the struggle with the Mughals headed by the Nizam. The Marathas generally considered Dusserah as the most auspicious day for setting out an expedition and the Dusserah of 1736 was signalized by Bajirao's starting from Poona with Malhar Rao Holkar and other sardars(84).

After crossing the Narmada the Peshwa heard; while approaching

the province of Malwa; that Nizam was encamped at Bhopal with a strong force. The Peshwa gave orders that the Maratha army should ~~hem~~^{launch attack} in the Mughals on all sides; thus cutting-off their supplies and harassing them by repeated sallies (85). The Nizam wrote for help to Delhi, ^{it was} but in vain. The Nizam was at last, so far humbled that he sent a blank paper, signed and sealed by him and besought Baji-Rao through Ranoji Sindhia to write out any terms which the Nizam was willing to accept and act up to. The treaty was signed on the 6th January, 1738 (86).

"The battle of Tal-Bhopal" was the most important event in the heroic career of Baji-Rao. In this battle, the Nizam's ambition received its final blow from Baji-Rao. Never again the Nizam; Asaf-Jah thought of measuring his strength with the Marathas, till the end of his life in 1748. The chief terms of the convention were as follows:-

- 1) Grant of the whole of Malwa to the Peshwa.
- 2) The Grant of the complete sovereignty of the territories between the Nerbada and the chambal.
- 3) A promise by the Nizam to obtain confirmation of this peace from the Emperor.
- 4) A promise to use his best endeavour to obtain a sum of 50 Lakhs from the Emperor to pay for Baji-Rao's expenses (87).

The convention was signed at the Duraha Sarai, Soon after, the Nizam sent all the Rajputs, landholders and other nobles of Malwa to meet the Peshwa(88). Bajirao returned to the Deccan, laden with honour and glory, in which Malharao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia had gained a ^{conspicuous} ~~conspicuous~~ share by performing prodigies of prowess to the entire satisfaction of the heroic Peshwa. ~~Malhar~~ Maharashtra had confidence in Bajirao during whose regime several Maratha families rose to greatness by doing excellent work for the Maratha Empire which the genius of that great Peshwa extended by uniting the hearts of the Marathas.

However, Bajirao I, whose entire career was but a ceaseless life in camp, became ill, while his camp was in the vicinity of the sacred Narmada. The Peshwa had high fever, which put an end to his life (Previous existence) on 20th April 1740. Malharao Holkar felt the shock very keenly(89). It was the end and aim of the policy of Bajirao to ^dexpand the Maratha Empire by the joint efforts of a united Maharashtra and he sacrificed his whole life for that purpose(90).

PESHA BALAJI BAJIRAO AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE MARATHA POWER ON MALWA :

In the Deccan Balaji Bajirao Alias Nanasaheb received the robes of Peshwaship, on June 25th 1740. He decided to settle the affairs of Malwa; once for all. Sir Jadhunath Sarkar, "Seconded,

it must be confessed by the utter disintergration of the imperial Government through Nadir-Shah's invasion succeeded, where the blustering facties of his father and failed"(91).

On December 1740, he ordered Antaji-Mankeshwar and other leading generals to proceed, the Northan India and to check; all the efforts of the Nizam and his associates. On their way, the Maratha took the fort of Dhar. The Mughal Emperor^{Yr} grew furious on hearing., of the success of the Maratha and ordered Samsam-ud-Daulah, Azam-Khan and Jaisingh to pro-ceed against the Maratha and not allow them to cross the chambal. Soon-however, Peshwa Balaji-Baji-Rao along with the Maratha soldiers and commanders marched to Gawelior in March 1741.

Realizing the opposi^stion was useless, Jaisingh sent envoys, to the Peshwa and opened peace negotion. He urged that Peshwa should remain satisfied with the grant of the province of Malwa and Gujrat and should not pledge that the other parts of the Empire would not be disturbed. On July 1741, another farman, followed by which the Emperor granted deputy Governorship of Malwa to the peshwa and on september 1741, a grant of whole Malwa including criminal jurisdistion with the province(92). The year 1741 AD. marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of Malwa.

RESPECTIVE SHARES OF MODERN MALWA I.E. PESHWA AND
MARATHA'S SARDARS :- (i.e.)

The whole of Malwa estimated at about one hundred and fifty lakhs of annual revenues, with the exception of about ten lakhs was divided between Holkar and Sindhia; i.e. seventy five and half lakhs were conferred on the former, and sixty five and half lakhs on the latter. The remaining ten lakhs were held by various Sardars of whom Anand-Rao Pawar was the most considerable (one).

The individual grants to Holkar in Malwa were at first renewed year after with slight Modifications. After Udaji Pawar's withdrawal left Holkar supreme in Malwa, and on October 3, 1730, Holkar was granted a saranjam of 74 parganas in Malwa, with all rights pertaining to the grant. Soon however, Sindhia was also associated with Holkar in the management of the province. Ranaaji's rise was rapid and in 1731, he attained a position in Malwa equal to that of Holkar. In the settlement of December 20, 1731, the division of the dues was thus made by the Peshwa Bajirao I

1) Peshwa.	-	45%
2) Holkar.	-	22½%
3) Sindhia.	-	22½%
4) Pawars.	-	10% (93).

MARATHA PRINCELY HOLDS IN MALWA.

—: 1732 To 1858 A.D. :—



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The other section of the Pawar family of Dewas i.e.

Tukoji and Jankoji Pawar were also associated with the affairs of Malwa. They were granted 7% out of 10% which was reserved for the pawars. The supreme control of the affairs in the province was vested in Holkar and Sindhia, and on November 2nd 1731, the Peshwa handed over the seals to both of them jointly(94). MalharRao Holkar was the incharge of the Districts of Maheshwar in Malwa and nine villages from Indore district i.e. Harsol, Saver, Barloi, Depalpur, Hatod, Mahidpur, Jagoti, Karanj and Makdon expected yield of Rs.2,63,000 a year. The management of the province was with him till his death in 1766(95). Though Ranoji Sindhia was assigned a percentage of the dues from Malwa, he does not appear to have received any individual grant in Malwa. He however made Ujjain his head quarter even early as 1735(96).

But the position of Pawars in Malwa declined, due to Udaji Pawar's misconduct. The evils that were due to the suspicious movements of the pawar chief, who had the inclination to assist TrimbakRao Dabhade, who instigated by Nizam ul mulk; went to the length a battle with BajiRao, near Dabhai on the 1st April, 1731(97). In this battle TrimbakRao Dabhade was killed and his army suffered a humiliating defeat. BajiRao tried much to gain pawar's good will, but Udaji Pawar was inexorable and unyielding. When Peshwa BajiRao solicitations and entreaties, were disregarded by Udaji

Pawar in his camp near sendhwa (in ^hKandesh). MalharRao was highly incensed at the rude conduct of Udaji-Pawar; in disregarding Bajirao with counsel (98). He soon however, his brother AnandRao Pawar retrieved the situation by consenting to accept the terms of Peshwa; and was granted only 10% (percentage) sarangam of Malwa from the year 1732-1733. The state of Dhar may be said to have been founded from the year 1733 ⁽⁹⁹⁾ ~~(100)~~.

Tukoji and Jiwaji Pawars, cousins of Anand-Rao Pawar, were introduced into Malwa only in 1731. The final partition between AnandRao and Udaji-Pawar was effected in August 1732. AnandRao Pawar was given the state of Dhar and Udaji Pawar was satisfied to the state of Dewas i.e. senior branch of Pawar's family. Udaji-Pawar's successors i.e. Tukoji and Pawars were to be paid 7 percent of the dues collected in the province. The two brothers thus jointly received the districts of Dewas, Sarangpur, Bagod, Ingnod and a partion of the tributes from Banswada and Dungarpur. The joint grant i.e. the state of Dewas, led to the founding of two districts princely branches in one place (100).

Thus the political relations of the Maratha power with the

states of Malwa, here completely revolutionalized by the grant of the farman of 1741. The peshwa became the lawful deputy Governor of Malwa; and the relations of the rulers of Malwa were now no longer with the Emperor at Delhi, but had to be kept up with the Peshwa at Puna. The others Zamindars of Malwa sent their agents to the Marathas as soon as the latter crossed the Narmada fixed the amount of the fixed the amount of the black mail to be paid, exchanged their furbans with Marathas and entered into alliance with them.

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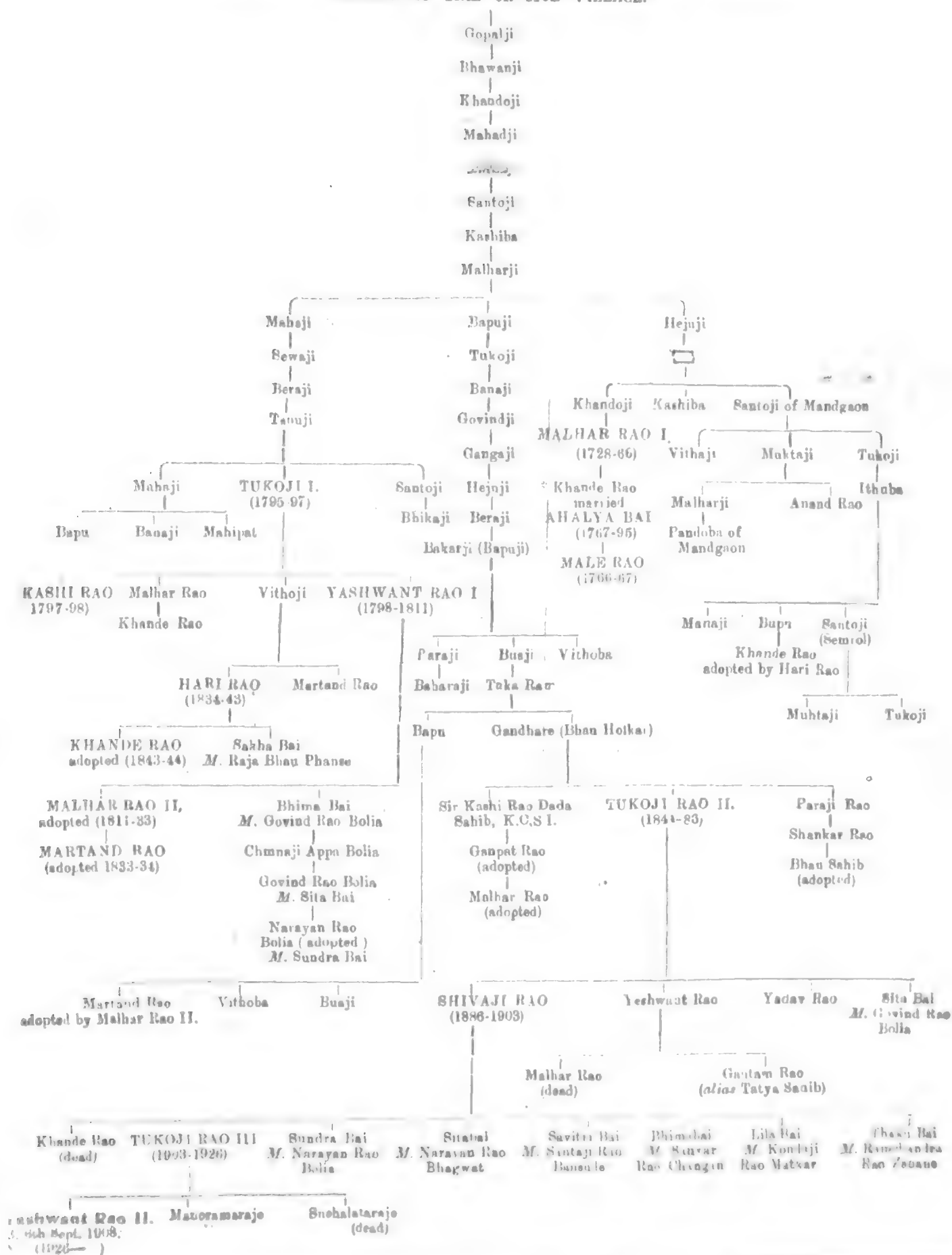
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HOLKERS IN MALWA. . . .

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOLKAR FAMILY.

MALIBA OF HAL OR HOL VILLAGE.



HOLKAR'S IN MALWA.

Malhararao Holkar, the founder of Holkar state, belongs to that famous school of patriotism which sprang into existence under the auspicious of the illustrious Chhtrapati Shivaji and reached the state of remarkable development under the great Peshwa Bajirao-I. The times in which he was born; witnessing a wonderful struggle between the Marathas and the Mughals were indeed memorable on account of the religious revival which was slowly and gradually progressing not only in Maharashtra but also in the whole of India and which led ultimately to the political upheaval resulting in the annihilation of the tyrannical Mughal Empire.

Holkars belong to the Dhanger caste and their tutelary deity Khandoba and the Yajuredi Deshaastha-Brahmins were their priests. MalharRao Holkar, who afterwards became the subhedar, a mighty host with sixteen crores in his treasury; was born in October 1698 AD. He was the son of Khandoji of 'Hol' village on Nirma river in Phaltan Taluka in Nimbalkar's Jahagir about forty miles from Poona. After experiencing several evil strokes of fortunes, young Malhararao went with his mother to Talonda in Khandesh; where his maternal uncle Bhojraj Bargal resided.

Before MalharRao became the servant of Peshwa-I, the permission of sardar Kadambande was duly obtained through

Bhojraj Bargal, who was much satisfied with the prospect of his nephew. Sardar Kadambande gave shelter to Malharao; the father of the Bande family which was much appreciated by the young and daring soldier. In 1724 AD. the Peshwa Bajirao I took Malharao in his service and gave him the command of 500 horses. Bajirao, I the great Peshwa at the time was very actively engaged in extending the power and influence of the Marathas.

In 1725 AD. Peshwa Bajirao gave Sanads to Shindhia, Holkar and Pawar to levy Chauth, Sardeshmukhi and mokaasa on Malwa. The power of the Marathas at this time was increasing rapidly. The chauth and sardeshmukhi was to be credited to the Peshwa and half of the amount of mokaasa was to be returned by the three officers for the maintainance of their troops. Malharao took full advantage of this opportunity. In 1729 AD. Girdhar Bahadur was killed and Dayabahader was, however, soon defeated and killed in the Action at Tira, near Dhar. The Mughal army was defeated on the 12th of October 1731, in this memorable battle of Tirla and the Marathas became prominent in Malwa(1).

In the famous expedition of the Peshwa Bajirao in 1733 AD. Shindhia and Holkar accompanied their Master to Delhi; where the Mughal army was defeated and put to flight. In 1739 AD. the memorable battle(Tal Bhopal) the Nizam was totally defeated by Bajirao I. Malharao and Ranoji Shindhia were greatly....

distinguished themselves in this battle and won the full favour of their master Bajirao I, who inspite of his complete triumph over the Nizam's forces, saved Nizam-ul-mulk and allowed him to escape after submitting him to humiliating peace and cession territory and war expences (2).

The Peshwa had already given twelve Districts to Holkar in Malwa in 1728 AD. That grant was increased to eighty two districts in 1731 AD. and the Peshwa entrusted the general management Malwa to Holkar, who not only successfully curbed the insolence of Udaji Pawar of Dhar but also brought Pawar to his proper senses. In the year 1732 AD. MalharRao Holkar obtained Indore, then a ^msmall town, by the Peshwas orders for his Khajgi which deserves to be described with some detail was it was a special inam for Holkar's service.

Maheshwar acquired by Holkar long ago had been favourite place of residence of Ahilyabai and proctically the capital of Holkar's Jahagir. In 1740 AD. occurred the attimate death of Bajirao the great Peshwa who had strongly favoured MalharRao Holkar's rise after taking into ^{Service.} service. MalharRao keenly e felt the sad demise of this heroic Peshwa (3).

In 1754 AD. an event occurred which took off the domestic happiness. Khanderao, Ahilyabai's husband was

killed by cannon ball at the Besige of kumbher about eight miles from Deeg. The grief of MalharRao can be imagined better than described herein. Ahilyabai wanted to become 'Sati' but MalharRao entreated her to desist from this act; which would add to the poignancy of this bereavement(4).

INVASION OF NABAB OF SAWANUR 1754 AD.

The Peshwa Balaji Bajirao undoubtedly had great regard and affection for MalharRao Holkar whom he often consulted and whose advice generally was greatly valued. While MalharRao was staying, the Peshwa had been enjoying his hospitality in Poona, the Poona court was planning an expedition against the Nabab of Sawanur, who had become recalcitrant and had assumed an attitude insolence towards the Maratha Powers. The Peshwa took seriously the matter up and after due deliberation gave orders for the preparation of an expedition against the Nabab of Sawanur(5).

The Nabab had insulted the Peshwa by refusing to send Muzaffarkhan back who was in the employment of the Peshwa in Poona. Muzaffarkhan was a gallant soldier, well disciplined and trained under French officers and had taken great pains in the training and discipline of the Maratha army. However, he left the poona court and gave troubles to the Marathas while helping to the Nabab of Sawanur. The whole expedition started..from Poona and on their way to

Sawanur, was joined by Bhosle's force of about 10,000 strong soldiers . The Peshwa called for MalharRao Holkar and other Sardars and expressed his desire to take Sawanur without the help of French officers sent by the Vizir. of Hyderabad. MalharRao requested the Peshwa to entrust this business, to Vitthal Shivdeo Vinchurkar. The Nabab of Sawanur was humbled and he yielded some of his territory to the Peshwa. The roots of the trouble, Muzaffarkhan, was removed from the Nababs service. The Peshwa was greatly satisfied with MalharRao's skill and valour as displayed in the taking of sawanur and gave him title of 'Subhedar of Malwa' as an appreciation of his service.

The year 1757 may be considered as the most important in the career of MalharRao Holkar. It was in this year that under the brave, but imprudent Raghobadada and MalharRao Holkar had the glorious opportunity of seeing the deccan horse quenching its thirst in the waters of Attak. Ragnobadada and Holkar started from Poona in 1757; on a grand expedition to of North India. The peshwa sent his expedition in order to control effectively the forces, which were working at Delhi under the guidance of Nazibkhan Rohila and Sujauddaula. Raghobadada and Holkar took the deposed vazir with them and advanced to Delhi, which the Maratha besieged. They treachrously attacked the fort which was defended by the cunning Nazibkhan Rohilla. For about two weeks, the detence of the fort was carried on by Nazibkhan Rohilla, who ultimately began to despair of holding out

any longer against the Maratha assaults, Nazibkhan, therefore, opened negotiations with Malhar Rao Holkar. The crafty Nizam threw himself on mercy. Holkar was prevailed upon by the entreaties of Nazibkhan and he promised to save at all cost(6).

However Itihasacharya Majwade has severely criticised Holkar's conduct in saving Nazibkhan Rohilla. He further added that 'Nazib Khan beseeched Malhar Rao to consider him as a son and delivered from the present danger(7). But in the affairs of Nazibkhan Rohilla, Holkar's simplicity was proverbial. He arranged that Nazibkhan should be safely escorted to his fort of Shukkartal in Rohilkhand. Nazibkhan was thus able to escape from the danger and to prove by his acts at no distant date that he was as ungrateful as he was mean. He was not against the Maratha's welfare in short(8).

After this memorable Maratha expedition, Holkar's influence gradually began to decline because of his future events. However, Raghubadada was returning to Deccan he advised Dattaji Shindhia to crush the influence of Nazibkhan Rohilla, the root of all the troubles of Marathas.

Delhi was taken by the Marathas and Raghobadada placed the deposed emperor Shaha Alam on the throne and appointed Gagiudin as a Vazir. The year 1748 and 1749 are very important in the political history of India both in the North and in the South. The old world of the Mughal supremacy was practically ended and a new world uprising Nawabs and a new world uprising Nawabs and Nizams, ministers and general's hold arose. The age may be called, the age of vazirs and Peshwas or Prime minister. Both in the north and in the south. The mughal emperor of the North and the Maratha Chhtrapati of the south had become puppets in the politics in the country.

The Delhi emperor had asked for Maratha help against foreign invaders like Nadir Shaha in 1739 and against Ahamad Shah Abdali in 1747. Thus Maratha influence in Delhi politics went in increasing. Antaji Mankeshwar Gandhe was nominated superintendent of the affairs in the imperial city. So the Marathas were able to bring the imperial affairs at Delhi; together with titular emperor under their control and influence. The Maratha expedition started from Delhi, to subjugate Punjab and Attuk and drive away Taimurshah. For the first time since the dismal day when prithviraj Chauhan fell a triumphant; Hindu flag waved proudly on the sacred river of the vedas. The Hindu horse of victory drank the water of Indus gazing fearlessly at Himslef as reflected in its crystal tides. The expedition...

into Hindustan, though very important from the political point of view was not a success from the financial stand point (9).

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AHILYABAI'S REGIME (1767-1795).

After the death of MalharRao Holkar grand son MaleRao was succeeded the Holkar's family. The young chief, however, who had of weak and unsetted intellect, soon began to show sings of insanity which developed rapidly and died within a year, after his succession being affected by insanity.

The Minister Gangadhar Yeshwant Chandrachud advised Ahilyabai to adopt a child from the Holkar family; ~~this advice~~ she declined to follow ^{his advice.} The threats of Raghobadada was given to Ahilyabai who always inclined him to take the wrong side and to be misguided by Chandra-Chud. The object of the minister was wishing Ahilyabai to adopt a child was naturally to lengthen the period of his ministry as well as to enjoy supreme power during the ministry of the young chief. Ahilyabai had the wisdom and capacity to see through these dark designs of the greedy minister Gangadhar Chandrachud, and she resolved to battle him and his plans with the resources as her disposal at his time (10).

Happily for Ahilyabai the Peshwa MadhavRao-I who had succeeded Balaji Bajirao in June, 1761; was thoroughly on her side. This Peshwas, just rule with his love for protecting the weak against the strong, could not admit of any disregard of Ahilyabais claim and her pious wisher for managing the Jahagir of

the Holkar Family. Ahilyabai defied the minister and his supporter Raghobadada and prepared to undertake the administration herself while things were in such an unsettled condition, a letter arrived from the peshwa MadhavRaoI, to the effect that Ahilyabai's succession was duly recognised and sanctioned by the Peshwa. In this way Ahilyabai's opponants Gangdhar Chandrachud and his supporters. Raghobadada were disposed by the final orders of the Peshwa and she was allowed to have her own way in looking after the affairs of her saranjam(11).

AHILYABAI'S DOUBLE RULE ADMINISTRATION:

Ahilyabai entered her responsible task of Administration by selecting tukoji Holkar as the commander of the Army and to perform these functions, which she as a female, could not discharge. Tukoji Holkar had enjoyed the confidence of MalharRao Holkar and was fighting esteemed by him as a soldier. This double rule though inconsistant with principle apparently continued satisfactory for 30 years to the benefit of the state as well as all parties concerned, because Ahilyabai was an admirable women full of sympathy and generosity, who had begun to have much regards for this difficul soldier.

The silent help given by the ⁿsaitly lady Ramabai to the saintly lady Ahilyabai is entitled to be enshrined in the page of history Ahilyabai had sent detailed letters to the Peshwa as well as to this queen Ramabai(11) fullisetting

forth the dangers that were ready to over-whelm her owing to the althless conduct of her minister and the supporter which Raghobadada had promised to him the justice loving tendency of the Peshwa was strongly seconded by the entreaties of Ramabai, who pained to grief and breavement of Ahilyabai and the serviges done by MalharRao Holkar and finally requested that Ahilyabai should be protected at all cost from the next spread for her ruin by the Peshwa's uncle Raghobadada at the instance of ^{Gangadhar} Gangadhar Chandrachud (12).

Ahilyabai's regime from 1767 1795 AD. Synchronises with the period during which the indefatigable and enthusiastic, generals Haripant Phadke, Parashrambhai, Patwardhan, Uishaji Krushna Biniwale, Ramchandra Ganesh, Shamsheer Bahadur, Ali Bahadur, Govindpant Bundele, Mahadaji Sindhia and Tukoji Holkar extended the Maratha ^{power} ~~power~~ in all parts of India and wiped away stigma of panipat by re-establishing the Maratha influence and Prestige in Hindustan as well as in ~~enough~~ India . Ahilyabai attended zealously to her well renowned charities and her civil administrations, her representative. Tukoji Holkar performed the duties of a military leader and commander of the contingent of 15000, horses, which holkar maintained was war like purpose (13).

The success of Ahilyabai in the internal administration of her domains was altogether remarkable. Rajwade traces her administration 'Ithihasachi Sadhane' that, 'The people of Hindustan might have gladly accepted her rule. So efficient were the relations which Ahilyabai established with foreign powers that her territories were scarcely invaded during her life-time, she was indulgent to the peaceable class and just and considerate towards the predatory, she had no occasion to change her minister or her revenue collectors. Her capital of Indore, she always regarded with particular consideration and fostering care, from a village, it developed into a prosperous city and wealthy mart for Malwa products' the found object of her life was to promote the prosperity of all round her (14).

She built several forts and constructed a linking roads with great labour and cost, over the Vindya-Range. She spent considerable sums on religious edifices at Maheshwar and built many temples, rest houses and wells through out Holkar dominions. All the places of Hindu pilgrimage in the east, west, north and south e.g. Jagannath puri, Dwarka, Kedarnath, and Rameshwar were given the large amount of donations. She built hospitals maintained establishments to feed the poor and the Brahmins and sent annual sums to be distributed in charity. Religion was one of the element which inclined her to these charities and good deeds. She owned empire over the heart of

the people and was held in the highest regards by the neighbouring rulers. The Peshwa, the Nizam and even Tipu Sultan was satisfied during her time, In short Ahilyabai's name and 'charitable Institutions', have become so to say 'Synonymous' in the Indian mind.

During Ahilyabai's regime there was no reward without a meritorious service and no punishments without an offence. Her favours as well as her punishments were distributed with a due sense of justice and mercy. Sir John Malcolm says; "Throug out the whole period of her regime of 30 years, the numerous petty Rajput chiefs tributaries and neighbourers were treated with fairly and amicable settlements. This led to the peace and contentment of the Rajput neighbours who blessed Ahilyabai for her disinterested and generous behaviour towards them, and always remained attached to her side. Ahilyabai's settlement with the criminal tribes of Gond and Bhills, who in habit; the tracts of the Marbada; the mountainous parts of the Nimar provences were as satisfactory as other arrangement"(15). Action to the exultation surprise of the female warriors arrayed against him".

Ahilyabai was also equally anxious to have Mahadaji Sindhia, whenever he wanted advice or was in need of monetary help. Ahilyabai gave a loan of 30 lacks of rupees Mahadaji Sindhia and never made demand for its return. Mahadaji Sindhia and Ahilyabai's visit were also served to create such a respect in.....

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Sindhia's mind for the venerable lady that Sindhia began to feel a filial reverence for her ^{as} "Ashya Mauliche poti Jamma Ghyawa" (16).

Ahilyabai died on the 13th August, 1795 at the age of 70 and the rule of the state devolved on Tukoji Rao Holkar. Ahilyabai always retained the control over the Malwa districts in her own hands. According to Nama-Padnis, 'Amongst the fair sex Ahilyabai appears possessed with power of blessing as well as burning. We had heard, till this day much of her fame for religious duties and austerities, to day we are surprised by the news of her courage enterprise. Her action has revealed to the world the fact that Maheswar is the northern gate of Poona, Maratha Empire. These words were assented to by the nodding of the empire. These words were assented to by the nodding of the entire Darbar on another memorable occasion. ^{Nani} ~~Name~~ Exclaimed, "None equals the Devi in foresight and ^{promptitude} ~~promptitude~~ much less surpasses". According to the Nizam of Hyderabad, "There is none, among contemporary rulers, to equal the Devi. She utilized the vast wealth amassed by the late Subhedar Malharaji to the best purpose. She has resigned her person and her purse to the purpose of providence'.

According to Maropant, poet of Maharashtra, A rare combination of virtues, indeed. Further he compares the Devi favourably with the river Ganges. The points common to both, he says, are possessed of meritorious fame and devoted to excellence" (17). Sir John Malcolm sums up her character and said that,

'It is an Extra ordinary picture, a female without vanity, a begot without intollerance, a mind imbued with deepest superstition, yet receiving no impression except what promoted the happiness of these under its influence, being exercising in the most active and able manners, deposite power not merely with sincere humility, but under the severest moral restraint that a strict conscience could impose on human action and all this combined with the greatest indulgence for the weakness and fault of others, such at least is the account which the natives of Malwa give Ahilyabai, with them her name is stained and she is styled on 'Avatar or in-carnation of the Divinity (18).

TUKOJI HOLKAR'S ROLE IN HOLKAR & FAMILY:

Tukoji Holkar was a distant cousing of Ahilyabai; but he was in no way related to MalharRao Holkar. After Ahilyabai's death(1795 AD.) TukojiRao Holkar formerly succeeded to the administration of the Jahagir of the Holkar's family with the sanction of the Peshwa(19). His brave and rude soldier commanded the house hold troops of MalharRao Holkar and accompanied his master in most of the campaigns. TukojiRao died in Poona on 15th August 1795, having behind him the character of a good soldier; a plain unaffected man, whose courage was superior to his craft. The records show that, he neve used a seal of his own and the one rerely employed by him ran as follows; "Shri. MalharRao Charni Tatpar Khandoji soot MaleRao Holkar"(20). Tukoji's first major role was in 1758, when the marathas made a bold bid to "Baths their horses into Indus", under the...

leadership of Raghunath Rao. Tukoji Holkar alongwith Maratha Captains such as Sabaji Sindhia, Renkoji Anaji and Gopalrao Bhawe, planted the Maratha sardar on Attock. A divided authority was established in the Holkar-State from day of Tukoji Holkar's elevation to the position of Subhdear. But he fulfilled all the expectation of Ahilyabai and was always attentive, faithfull and obedient to her.

One is apt to recall the name of Tukoji Holkar in the contest of Mahadji Sindhia. Nana Phadnavis and Tukoji Holkar wove around Mahadji successive nets of intrigue for which the latter had to suffer for frustration and avoidable waste of resources. And it was Mahadji Sindhia who had saved Nana Phadnavis from his imprisonment at Pandharpur in the hands of Tukoji Holkar and Moroba Phadnavis. In the earlier years, the relation between Tukoji and Mahadji were not strained. In the first Anglo-Maratha war Tukoji helped Mahadji Sindhia in the Gujrat campaign, employed Guerilla tactics with effect and fought several successful actions against Coddard(21).

After the first Anglo-Maratha war the relations between Tukoji Holkar and Mahadji Sindhia were profoundly altered. As in the letter dated: 29th July, 1786, Jens Anderso wrote to John Macpherson, "Tukoji Holkar who had been once the intimate friend is now the most bitter enemy of Sindhia(22). Both of them had begun to view each other with suspicious, even before Sindhia marched to North-India. Differences arose between them as regard the policy adopted towards Ratansingh of Udaypur, Javaharsingh of Bharatpur and Najib-ud-Daula.

The rise of Mahadji Sindhia rankled in the heart of Nana Phadnavis, who wanted to make TukojiRao Holkar and instrument of his policy against the former. Tukoji betrayed utter lack of patriotism, honesty and even a wise preception of self-interest, played into the ^{heart} ~~her~~ of Nana and freely indulged in anti-Sindhia activities (23).

Mahadji's exasperations knew no bounds because of Tukoji's activities. When Ali-Bahadur had ~~o~~ defied Mahadji in July, 1789, Tukoji became the formerss close ally. Every anti-Sindhia plot in Rajasthan was hatched under Tukoji Holkar's leadership. These activities bred hatred and suspicious and brought about a clash of arms at Suraully (8th October, 1792), and at, Lekheri (1st June, 1793) (24).

In his last days Tukoji Holkar was quiescent in his cups and almost dwindled into senility. He was too found of drink to stair himself for anything else in the world (25). Tukoji first had four sons. Kashirao, MalharRao-II, were the issues of his legitimate wives and YeshwantRao and Vithoji were the issues ^{of} ~~his~~ mistress. Though MalharRao was younger than Kashirao, yet he claimed the Gadi of Holkar's, on the pretext that KashiRao was born when TukojiRao was an ordinary soldier, and he, MalharRao-II was born after TukojiRao-I had become Subhedar of Holkar State. According to Malcolm, 'Ahilyabai and TukojiRao-I desired that Kashirao and MalharRao should occupy positions similar to those occupied by themselves. Kashirao should remain at Maheshwar, while MalharRao-II

should be commander-in-Chief of Holkar. However this is not sustained by any state records. He despaired of fortune as as his sons broke into violent quarrels among themselves. Sometimes he would say, 'If in my very life-time young brotherly love has turned into a hatred and lastly, God knows how it will be end after I am gone"(26).

On the contrary it appears that after Ahilyabai's death TukojiRao was aware of the fact that there might be a dispute on the issues of successions and therefore, he abdicated in favour of KashiRao, who later on made subhedar by the Peshwa on 29th January, 1797. MalharRao-II secretly sought support of Nana Phadnavis. Peshwa Bajirao-II also wished to support MalharRao-II but thinking that if MalharRao-II was to become subhedar, his supporter Nana Phadnavis would again in strength. He decided to make KashiRao the Subhedar of Holkar Family (27)^{and} secured the support of Sindhia through the instrumentality of latter minister Sarjerao Ghatke. A reconciliation, however, effected between two brothers on the pretext of avoiding a civil-war, which was sworn to by the most solemn oaths. This did not prevent Sindhia from attacking MalharRao-II. His army was annihilated and he himself was killed in the attack, and his infant son fell into Sindhia's hands (Khanderao-II) who at once put him into safe custody. Yeshwantrao and his brother Vithoji, however, escaped, the former to Nagpur and a latter to Kolhapur (28).

YESHWANTRAO HOLKAR'S CONTRIBUTION TO HOLKAR-FAMILY AND
MALWA

YeshwantRao-I appreciating the weakness of his position declared that he was championing the cause of Khanderao-I the infant son of MahalharRao-II and called on all old adherents of the house of Holkar would join his standard. He was soon after joined by Vazir Hussain of Sarangpur and latter by Amirkhan whose descendents hold the Tonk State in Rajputana. YeshwantRao Holkar hopes of re-establishing the former glory of the house of Holkar, were considerably strengthened with Dudrence's assistance. He raised additional brigades under captains Dood and Plumet. He next proceeded to Maheshwar, where with the aid of considerable treasury, he was able to secure, ^{and} ~~he paid~~ ^{to pay} his troops (29).

The internal resources of his small state could not possibly support the large army that YeshwantRao kept. He had to met predatory raids, periodically in order to obtain money and supplies.

He then over-ran in Malwa plundering living dues from the chiefs of Devas and a wide including, such places as Jaora, Tarana, Rampura, Nawlai, Soondhawara, Rajghad-Patan, Bakaina, Shujawalapor, Sarangpur, Akara, Barkhera, Chandtara and Satambari. At Tarana he posted Vazir Hussain with 500 horses and 100 foot. Shamrao Mandlik was ordered to levy-contributions from Rampura, Bhanpura Jaora, Baraud and other places. At the

village of Gar-wada, Bhalagao Ingale with 400 horses and Qualab-Ali-Khan met YeshwantRao and expressed the desire for entering his services.

There are some misunderstanding about YeshwantRao Holkar. The Historical revaluation of YeshwantRao Holkar is highly essential in order to remove those misunderstandings (This article will be verymuch useful for removing the misunderstandings). As mentioned by great historian Rajastkar G.S. Sardesai "YeshwantRao Holkar shone by brightly like a diamond even within a very short period during the decline of Maratha Power and the diamond with its own light slightly removed pitch darkness of the period. There was not other great Sardar in Maratha power at ^{that} time. Howmany people like YeshwantRao can we show in history who are broad minded. Sympathetic to the poor; cautious in taking care and protecting the subordinates; careless of individual pleasure; but a tyrant on the battle field? Though there were many de-merits in him; howmany persons the whole mankind can these be without a single ^{demerit} demerit? Maharashtra was not fortunate enough to have an intelligent leader who could ^{hide} his ^{demerits} demerits and utalized his great merits for the use of benevolence of the nation and hence the great deeds of YeshwantRao were not properly Rewarded" (30).

It was the period of decline of Maratha power i.e. Peshwai the darkness in the administration of Peshwai increased continicously. The symptoms of fall of Maratha power were

foreseen due to deaths of able personalities in Maratha power one after another from 1795 to (the first half part of 1797) 1797, Bajirao-II the elder son of Raghobadada, who aspired for becoming a Peshwa, achieved his aim in 1797. Sakharam SarjeRao Ghatage, who had become a sardar of DaulatRao Sindhia was a devilish character. Similarly DaulatRao Sindhia who was peshwas favourable rose to Power. Both of them had a common aim to demolish the dynasty of Peshwas and particularly those who obstructed them (31).

THE PERSONALITY OF YESHWANTRAO EMERGED FROM THE HOLKAR'S FAMILY.

During his life TukojiRao Holkar had made his son KashiRao, the Subhedar of Holkar State, KashiRao's subhedari was recognised by Peshwa Bajirao II and DaulatRao Sindhia, KashiRao was an insignificant personality, so they expected that they would succeed in pocketing him and destroying the Holkar State (32).

MalharRao II, the second son of TukojiRao Holkar had not bright past, yet he was a brave soldier. To act at the beck and call of KashiRao Holkar, could injure MalharRao's self respect, so MalharRao II, lived in the small group of brave soldiers after the death of his father. KashiRao maintained intimate relationship with DaulatRao Sindhia so that his brother ^{should} ~~showed~~ follow his steps, and should never act independently. MalharRao II did not respond to such step; so

KashiRao planned to attack and arrest MalharRao II, infact KashiRao was not bold enough to impelment the plan; so KashiRao sought the support of DulatRao Sindhia (33).

MalharRao II could know about the conspiracy against him, so he prepared himself with a group of soldiers. He left for Bhamburda and raised an army when on 14th Sept.1797; after the death of TukojiRao Holkar; DaulatRao Sindhia suddenly attacked him kashiRao Holkar and DaulatRao Sindhia, sent a message about the cancellation of attack through a traitor of MahalRao II and fixed the plan of attacked with a great force. DaulatRao Sindhia launched an attack with such a plan and preparation; MalharRao II and his soldiers were not alert at that time; He fought with a great breavery and died on the battle field. Some other people were also killed KashiRao's attitude was selfish rather than of self-respect. He concentrated on taking his brother's property into possession. He did not shed tears at the sad demise of his brother MalharRao II (34).

A Muslim soldier escaped from the group of MalharRao-II. Met an English officer and told him thus, "YeshwantRao was injured and I carried him to Poona on horse back; in the same condition; YeshwantRao's body was completely covered with clothes. On an enquiry I told them that it was an injured soldier belonging to the army of DaulatRao and thus I

succeeded in taking the injured body of YeshwantRao Holkar safely to Poona. It was a fantastic event in the confusion of the group of MalharRao Holkar. The dynasty of MalharRao-I and Ahilyabai Holkar is about to be destroy^{ed} during my life time. The dynasty has to great enemies; DaulatRao Sindhia and Bajirao-II, who aim at acquiring the moveable and immovable property illegally. KashiRao II was not powerful enough to stop them. He had no hope and resources except his own power. These facts were visualised by YeshwantRao Holkar. After such an event of the confusion in the group of MalharRao-II. YeshwantRao, and Vithoji Holkar were the illegitimate^{illegitimate} sons of TukojiRao-I; so they did not possess real status in the society(35).

BIASED HISTORICAL OUT LOOK AND YESHWANTRAO HOLKAR.

YeshwantRao and his soldiers escaped due to the sudden attack on MalharRao Holkar by DaulatRao Sindhia and Bajirao-II. So it will be wrong to inter that they had no power courage or bravery. This can be proved from the events in his biography after 1797. Though it was the state of Holkar, it did not belong to YeshwantRao. It was administred in the name of KashiRao Holkar, who was not powerful to defend it strongly. Just as - ~~()~~ - looked at among the known bright stars in the sky, as a bad omens. Similary YeshwantRao was looked at with the biased Historical out look(36).

There are sufficient Historical resources which interpret that in 1799. YeshwantRao usurped the state of Holkar, dethroning KashiRao, Holkar, but Holkar's rule in Mawla. which continued in history for 150 years was established due to the braving of YeshwantRao Holkar. It will not be an exaggeration, if it is said that YeshwantRao; after the death of his father, re-established the Holkar State. After 1799, people looked at him as a plunderer; rebel and later on they began to render him as the whole sole authority in Holkar dynasty; even then people did not forget about his acts of plunder and a rebellion. It was in 1805 that the misunderstanding among the people about him has cleared of (37).

BASELESSNESS OF YESHWANTRAO'S BETRAYAL IMPOSED ON HIM
DUE TO SINDHIA'S HOUSEHOLD CONFLICT.

The household conflict of Sindhias in 1799; is known as (Sinde-Bayanchal-Danga) violent quarrel between the ladies belonging to Sindhia's family wives of Mahadaji Sindhia departed in northern direction in order to save their life and property, from the cruel deeds of DaulatRao Sindhia. It was the outcome of a minor conflict between the DaulatRao Sindhia and wives of Mahadaji. They requested YeshwantRao Holkar to render them assistance and DaulatRao knew that YeshwantRao will give up the chance to help them. In 1800, Bajirao-II from the north or the British officers

did not help them, so they left in southern direction. Those ladies requested YeshwantRao Holkar to be help them against DaulatRao Sindhia. They offered them a small treasure and a part of territory. So YeshwantRao waited for the fulfilment of conditions, laid down by him. Those ladies did not fulfil the conditions. On the contrary, YeshwantRao suspected that under the guidance of Lakhaba-Dada- they might be busy with constring a plot in order to attack him. Therefore, before their attack YeshwantRao without wasting time, immediately attacked the military post belonging to the people who leated, YeshwantRao called his deed "as a deed of betryal"(38).

The people who had assembled in order to attak YeshwantRao were ^{unwilling} unwary, when YeshwantRao attacked them, for such an act YeshwantRao should not have been blamed as a traitor. The low and humiliating acts of DaulatRao sindhia sardar Ingle, SarjehaRao Ghatage, were not catagorized as the deeds of 'Betryal'.

YESHWANTRAO'S HOLD ON UJJAIN; (8th JULY, 1801).

YeshwantRao after maturing his plans of attack on Ujjain, called Meerkhan to join him promptly. According to ^{khare} Gemp-
tton, 'YeshwantRao had an immense numerical superiority over BrownRingg. His army consisted of forteenth regular battalions under Plumet, 5 thousand Rohillas, 50 thousand Maratha Cavalry, 27 heavy guns, and 42 field-guns! Throughout the attack he himself was the moving spirit.

Hessing's (Sindhia's) Guns began to fire upon them with perfect accuracy. But just then the rain came and Yeshwant Rao took full advantage of this God-sent opportunity. According to Mohansingh, 'From one side the Maharaja's camp and from the other side Plument-Saheb, and from a third side Meer Khan delivered charges and made heroic exertions'. No escape was possible from Holkar's long spears and none was sought Hessing's sepoy fought till the last man was killed (39).

One of his six infantry battalions and 3000 to 3500 horses on Sindhia's side, 2000 men were reported killed or wounded and 12 officers were killed. An immense booty consisting of stores, elephant, horses etc. fell in to the hands of Yeshwant Rao in addition to thirty pieces of Cannon. He now adopted the Nadirshah's mode of extortion and demanded from the opulent citizens of Ujjain 15 lacks of rupees at the war of indemnity. The poorer population of Ujjain had to face starvation and many of them perished to hunger. Yeshwant Rao himself got little out of the cities. His government got less than one eighth of what was levied from the citizens. All the rest being consumed by his officers.

YESHWANTRAO'S DEFEATS BY SARJERAO AT INDORE: (October, 1801)

For the next one and a half-month, Daulat Rao sulked over his defeat at Ujjain and sent an urgent message to Sarjerao Ghatke to repair his side. Sarjerao possessed of considerable

military talent, practical turn of mind and quick decision. His army consisted of 40 battalions of Sutherland, 6 battalions of Felose, 6 Battalions of Browniggs, 25 thousand cavalry. Karimkhan, Pendhari's making together, no less than 30 or 60 thousand men. Sarjerao did not have any time he advanced methodically and with lightning speed towards Indore alongwith BrownRingg. 'The Ghanimi' tactics of Holkar proved futile against the cannon-balls YeshwantRao of BrownRingg. (40).

YeshwantRao however could not reap full advantage of the situation as his gallant charge did not receive the required support from the artillery. The decisive battle came on the 14th October, 1801. YeshwantRao held a council of war just before the battle. Bhavanishankar advised him 'to lead the families and his camp and baggages to some place of safety and then engage again fighting with a composed mind.

'Sending his family back to Maheshwar YeshwantRao took post under cover of the artillery behind a deep ditch. The fire of the Sindhia's gun was mainly directed towards the Holkar's campoo. By this time alarm had spread throughout Yeshwant-rao's ranks. The Pendhari horsemen, forming the rear of his army at first vacillated and then fled(41). Taking advantage of this confusion Ghatke charged and threw the entire wing into disorder. All guns of YeshwantRao numbering more than 100, were captured. According to Malcolm 'The poor-show of Holkar's infantry and the treachery of his artillery men were the real cause of Ghatke's victory.

The loss on YeshwantRao's side, four and five thousand persons were killed. The loss of Indore, however, not the end of YeshwantRao Holkar. He still possessed sufficient means to create great distress in Malwa (42). DaulatRao Sindhia, had recklessly increase his army and a large sum of money was required for its keep. Mahadji Sindhia left his successor nothing but a legacy of debt. Without any education and without any talent for revenue organisation, Diwan and officers of Sindhia left the management and administration to corrupt Diwans and no less corrupt Prabhu-Clerks. The utter lack of money was some times aggravated by DaulatRao's short-sighted parsimony. Captain Broughton, wrote from Sindhia's camp that, 'While Sindhia is daily submitting to these and similar insults from his starving unpaid soldiery and servants (43). Besides indolence and cruelty, there were other practical difficulties which stopped Sindhia from taking full advantage of his victory at Indore.

FAILURE ON NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN DAULATRAO AND YESHWANTRAO.

Palmer an English officer hinted at in his letters to Lord Wellesley dated; 2nd October, 1801, 'he is not engaged in a treaty with YeshwantRao to support him against Sindhia in his pretensions to the succession of the late Tukoji Holkar in prejudice to the right of KashiRao in consideration of his relinquishing the possession of his family in the Deccan amounting to 25 lacks annual revenue'.

In order to please YeshwantRao Holkar Bajirao-II proposed to Sindhia that Khanderao-II should be set at liberty and that Sindhia should also restore to YeshwantRao the greatest part of his possession in Malwa, reserving only such a portion there of as might indemnify him from all losses resulting from the present war. Bajirao-II changed his attitude, when YeshwantRao lost the battle of Indore. He confiscated once again the whole sarangam of the Holkar family on the ground that Kashirao had helped YeshwantRao against Sindhia (44).

Meanwhile DaulatRao Sindhia was slowly making preparations to strike hard against YeshwantRao Holkar. According to Both Skinner and GrandDuff, 'Sindhia offered to recognise YeshwantRao as a guardian to the head of the Holkar family and to show his earnestness in the matter KashiRao was sent to YeshwantRao's camp(45). YeshwantRao also stressed the importance of co-operation for the sake of national solidarity and strength, the demands that he made against Sindhia abundently clear that, he lacked genuine patriotism and spirit of self-sacrifice. He demanded that KhandeRao-II, who had been kept confined in the Ashirgarh should be released, all his Jahagir to be restored to him, he should be recognised as the head of the Holkar family and be given a part of Sindhia's territory in the North. Finally all the promises and agreements that had been made, in the past between Mahadji Sindhia and Tukoji Holkar were to be confirmed.

It was impossible for Daulatrao Sindhia to accept ¥
YeshwantRao Holkar's demands (46).

KASHIRAO AND YESHWANTRAO HOLKAR:

By this time KashiRao was thoroughly disappointed from Sindhia's side and began to develop half-hearted esteem for YeshwantRao, his brother whose fighting qualities came almost as a revelation to him. YeshwantRao also eager to make-up his affairs with his brother in order to serve his own interest. YeshwantRao had tried to persuade his brother to unite his forces with him in opposing the ambitions of DaulatRao, but KashiRao distrusted the intension and assurances of his brother and also did not want to provoke Sindhia. 'A quarrel between brothers, wrote KashiRao to YeshwantRao, is a cause of Public regret and of the strengthening of the enemies. It is now desirable that we should act in concert ~~fm~~ and do what is agreed upon (47).

YeshwantRao showed willingness to serve KashiRao and promised, 'Princely Provision' to be made for his brother, when he would come to Maheshwar. It was settled between the brothers that KashiRao should occupy the throne, while YeshwantRao acting as his servant, would conduct the war against DaulatRao Sindhia. No sooner did KashiRao joined YeshwantRao then the latter wrote to Bhamal "please provide my brother with faithful guards". But these faithful guards kept KashiRao Holkar like a prisoner in Shendhw-ghat.

YeshwantRao some times carried correspondance with Sindhia to establish Khanderao-II, as a law-ful head of the house of Holkar. However, KashiRao fled away from Shendhwa. YeshwantRao blamed KashiRao's mean selfishness and sencelessness and all the property of KashiRao fell into YeshwantRao's hands (48).

YESHWANT'RAO'S CAMPAIGN IN MALWA.

The reason for roving campaign was YeshwantRao's worry that his toopps would desert him as he had no money to pay them. YeshwantRao had told his soldiers plainly that he had no money to pay them in future, they would have to live on plunder. This offer of living on plunder was a tempting one. And infused en-
-thusiasm not only among his own followers but drew to his side many of Sindhia's soldiers. His forces formed into three separate divisions spread-out like fans and combed, the entire country for food and spoils. He thought that he would be feeding his own men and at the same time cripple the enemy effectively Rapid success came to Holkar's Chiefs. YeshwantRao reduced Ratlam and several adjoining districts to ashes, and got a large booty in money and food articles like clothes, and sugar. Not only Indore but all Malva lay opened to the ravages of YeshwantRao Holkar (49).

YeshwantRao was conducting the campaign in the true Maratha style, moving rapidly in order to avoid Sindhia's army in the field. Marching through Dhar, Amjhera, Dhululia, Prtagarh, Jawad, and Nimahera. With the three Nathdwara idols, YeshwantRao

exacted a heavy contribution from the wealthy inhabitants from Nath-Dwara. This impious act tainted the fame of YeshwantRao Holkar in Rajasthan was that, "These should be no promiscuous pillage hence forward, but that system of levying contribution should be put in force" (50).

This period of Holkar's desultory warfare was a gruesome tale murders, pillage and desulations throughout Malwa. His soldiers respected neither the laws of god nor of men. Even furniture and women's ornaments were snatched away. Sir J.N.Sarkar succinctly says that, 'as the many hords of Holkar's horsemen spread over like fans, their lines of advance could be known from after by the flocks of vultures hovering over the dusts clouds that hid these swarms of human locusts' (51).

CIVIL WAR AGAINST HOLKAR AND PESHWA: (BAJIRAO-II)

The supine rule of Peshwa Bajirao-II gave the final push to the tottering Maratha confedracy. He had neighter the ability nor even the desire to make DaulatRao Sindhia and YeshwantRao Holkar live in peace. Elphinstone rightly points out that, "The Peshwa was eager for power but he lacked the boldness necessary to acquire it" (52). He hated YeshwantRao, as he held him responsible for all the evils in the Maratha state. He looked upon Daulatrao as a 'Weak-foolish-boy', who himself was faultless, but was illadvised by others.

Vithuji Holkar, the younger brother of YeshwantRao Holkar exploited the wide-spread discontent against Bajirao-II.

BAJIRAO-II'S PREPARATION FOR WAR AGAINST HOLKAR:

Yeshwantrao himself was playing a double game, on the one hand, he had loosened the rope of his free booters to ravage the territory of the Peshwa, and on the other hand he had been sending humble and respectful letters to him begging for justice. Once he fell Ahmednagar with great fury and other raid razed to the ground Sindhia's grand palaces of Shrigonda and Jambgaon. The main purpose of his campaign, he told the Peshwas, was to pay a visit to the temple of Jejuri. According to Dr.P.C.Gupta, "The real object of Holkar's Deccan campaign was to take for himself the place which Sindhia had been occupying at Poona". Yeshwantrao steadily moved in the direction of Poona with the powerful army. Bajirao-II hurriedly assembled and armed his army to meet Yeshwantrao' (53).

BATTLE OF BARAMATI:

It is an important to note that the total strength of rival hosts, Holkar brought into the field an army superior in both numbers and quality. His army consisted of 16 Battelions of European trained Sepoys and 2000 indigenous but doughtly Pathan Musketteers. Yeshwantrao had a strong cavalry support of 1 lack 5 thousand horse(54). Men who had proved themselves the best in India an enlisted the support of the several insurgents such as Jiwaji Yeshwant, Yeshwantrao Ramkrishna and Krishnarao Modi, Vithoji openly gave-out that he was supporting Amrutrao with the main object of saving the Maratha state from the approaching ruin. Balaji Kunjar and Bapu Gokhale were

especially commissioned to get hold of Vithoji Holkar. Vithoji was captured alive by Bapu Gokhale, Balaji Kunjar suggested a barbarous mode of execution for Vithoji to make him an example for others. Vithoji offered up the humblest supplication for life and mercy. But the Peshwa could not tolerate even the slightest whisper in favour of Vithoji. The latter was given 200 stripes on his body, was tied to the foot of an elephant, dragged about in the palace compound and was killed with horrid cruelty. When the news reached Yeshwant Rao Holkar, he was drowned in grief and his anger knew no bounds.

In this context Yeshwant Rao's final warning to the Peshwa should not be over-looked, "If you wish to avoid blood-shed send at once Balaji Kunjar and Dajiba Deshmukh ~~me~~ to me on your behalf and Baburao Angre and Nemaji Bhaskar on behalf of Sindhia to negotiate terms". These were the persons who were the responsible for the barbarous murder of Vithoji Holkar. As George Thomas, described 'Holkar's cavalry are superior to those of Sindhia, being better offered and more correspondant with the real Maratha custom of predatory warfare'. Yeshwant Rao had 100 guns at a moderate estimate. Holkar's right-wing at the northern-end, the line was commanded by Meer Khan. The battle commenced with a warm cannon at about half-past nine in the morning. Three out of the four European officers including Captain Dewas, Captain, Catts and Ensign Douglas and 600 men out of the total strength of 1400 were killed or wounded. Sadashiv Bhaskar was killed while fighting

against Meerkhan. Sindhia's defeat at the battle of Hadapsar was complete. L.F.Smith, a British officer of Holkar's army reported that at least 5000 were killed and wounded on Sindhia's side'. According to a Maratha news writer in Poona, 'Three thousand men of Sindhia were killed(55).

Holkar's casualties amounted to 16 hundred men including Vickers wounded and Colonel Hardinge killed by cannon-shot towards close of action(56).

The day of the battle of Hadapsar, the 25th October, 1802 was incidently the day of Dipawali. This occasion is celebrated in the traditional festive way all over the country with a flood of light but Maharashtra, it proved to be the dawn of darkness. Sir J.N.Sarkar rightly remarked that, "The last fruit of the Civil-war is the loss of national liberty and Holkar's triumph made the Peshwa an English.Vassel. It is easy to understand the Civil-war. If it is remembered that last Peshwa and the other Maratha chiefs lived in a kind of federal honey-moon, learning nothing, forgetting nothing, and foreseeing nothing(57).

It is indeed a tragedy that the last fruit of the greatest achievement of YeshwantRao Holkar was that it drove the Peshwa into the arms of the English. The city of poona suffered less than what might have been expected. But having arrived at Poona, he did not hesitage to wreak vengeance on his enemies. Th e success of YeshwantRao Holkar e had completely

established the ascendancy of his power in the Maharashtra-State, but he was hard pressed for money. YeshwantRao sent Fatehsing Mane to the Baramati district to collect the contributionsto pay the soldiers under him. The country round Poona is already deserted (58).

YESHWANTRAO AS A PLUNDERER OF POONA- A BASELESS INTERPRETATION.

Peshwa Bajirao-II was the Brahmin by Birth, though he was not a real Brahmin due to his quality or deeds. He did not even investigate the oppression that went on in Poona. Hence the question of setting the things right would never arise. But once he immediately started the investigation when people criticized. Though there was a scarcity of water, outside the Shanivarwada water was available in great quantity inside the palace. So he permitted the women and servants and their wives who were not Brahmins, to use the water, which was available in Shanivarwada. unknownally there were two women belonging to the caste of shoe makers among them, ^{fetches the water.} when he secret was disclosed; he started to investigate the facts and decided to punish those women(59). There was always the scarcity of funds in Peshwai but Bajirao II used unbecommin means to procure funds which were never used by any other Peshwas before him.

In the second half of 1800 AD. VithojiRao Holkar; attacked the area. Surrounding the solapur. There are some passing references in history about his deeds. Bapu Gokhale was sent to check the activities of vithoji Holkar who was then arrested by

him. Bajirao I^I did not immediately kill him in the beginning VithojiRao Holkar was given corporal punishment and after giving him sufficient physical torture, he occupied a place, whence he could see the agony of VithojiRao Holkar while moving from his own place to elephant that was going to crush his head; under its leg. He did not permit to cremate VithojiRao's dead body for twenty four hours (60). Though the permission was, then, given, his wife was refused permission for Sati. The Bahaji (Bobuji) Kunjar caught VithojiRao Holkar and brought him to the appointed elephant for punishment. In this way, it was Bahaji Kunjar and not the Peshwa, who was to be blamed. Such plea was put forth by vakil of Peshwa Bajirao-II. On this occasion YeshwantRao got angry and said, "though the punishment is announced by the secretary Peshwa had the right to implement it or, to stop its implementation". YeshwantRao put forth an application before going to Poona, in which he stated; "We are the servant of the whole throne from generations. The Royal throne is a place of resort for us. We have come here at your feet, with such an outlook". In order to hide once own sinful acts the Peshwa-Bajirao II announced that YeshwantRao as a rebel and continuously planned for his destruction" (61).

The battle was fought for a long time and in the after noon Bajirao-II, came out of Shanivarwada to see the events that had taken place on the battle field. He did not reach the

place where the thick fight was going on. He waited at the police station. (Kotwal Chaudī) in Bhawani-Peth and tried to collect information, about the battle. When he came to know about the defeat of Sindhia, he did not return to Shanivarwada. When he learnt that, the soldiers belonging to YeshwantRao Holkar were approaching him; he immediately escaped from the place and reached at the place and reached at the foot of shihagarh(62).

YeshwantRao Holkar desired from the bottom of his heart that peshwas should not leave poona. He sent proof of soldiers in order to bring Peshwas back to Poona. He managed to communicate request to the Peshwa to returned to Poona. His loyalty to Peshwas was infact, even in this conflict YeshwantRao felt that it was possible for the Peshwa to remain at the foot of shihagarh; and he may starve on the festival so he sent 25 camels loaded with the material for the feasts; to the Peshwa and for few of Shihagrah on Monday (63).

YeshwantRao had warned his soldiers not to trouble the people in Poona at all. He campailed them to obey his orders. Though the market was closed he asked shopkeeper to open he shop and controlled the raising prices of commodities. He fixed the rates of food-grains and compelled the businessmen to sell foodgrains at fixed rate, and threatened them that they were severely punished if they disobey the orders (letter in obt 1802).

The two persons Deshmukh and Vaijanath-Mama-Bhagwat were Peshwa's favourites though they were fools. Once they ~~tried~~ tried to collect funds from the People independently. Yeshwantrao Holkar stopped them to do so, on, another occasion, two pathans. Scandalized the Poor People Yeshwantrao set them right by cutting one hand of one of them, and cutting the nose of the other. They were taken through the market on the camels in such a condition. In 1803 in the month of January and February. People in Poona suffered from atrocities of some people in such events were humiliating, but Amritrao and Morobadada Phadke encouraged such events to extract large amount from the Nanipat bhawe(64).

The Kinsmen of Daulatrao Sindhia and Peshwa Bajirao II were the report aniters of the artorcities of the past splendid of the revolution in Peshwai. The People who had witnessed the events lived upto the middle of Nineteenth century. Those persons might forget the events of atrocities of Sindhia and Peshwas which had taken place in 1797 and 1798 in order to colcet funds. But whaver, had taken place during the months stay of Yeshwantrao Holkar in Poona; was told by ^{several} clerly persons to their sons and grand sons, the historical events, of ^{poona} based on wrong foundation. They tried to cover their sins by blaming Yeshwantrao Holkar as the plunder at Poona. Naturally the next Generations after Peshwai formed a biased out look about Yeshwantrao's ability.

YeshwantRao fought with the British people during 1804-1805. The English letters, refering to the fight given by YeshwantRao Holkar, did not support the view that he was; "YeshwantRao, the Plunderer of Poona" (65).

BASELESSNESS OF PLUNDER OF AURANGABAD BY YESHWANTRAO HOLKAR.:

In may 1803 YeshwantRao Holkar collected the revence from the villages situated near Aurangabad, because they were included in his Jahagir. Nizam of Hyderabad was the ~~fixax~~ friend of British officers. The British officers considered that the collection of revence from Nizams territory by YeshwantRao an offence. Wallesley on behalf of the British worned YeshwantRao for such a deed. YeshwantRao replied that the two villages belonging to his Jahagir, where situated near Aurangabad. During the five years the revenue was collected by the subhedar of Aurangabad. YeshwantRao had gone to Aurangabad in order to procure the concerned revenue. He succeeded in procuring some of the amount and no damage or prouble was given to the people in Aurangabad (66).

The event of Aurangabad has been given here with details; so that it might be useful to prace out the reality or otherwise, in the generally attached label, "Marathas are plunders", to the names of marahtas. The British people while writing the history continued the use of term "Marathas plunder in a wrong way". In fact the amount which was due to be paid by Nizam was procured by YeshwantRao with exerting &

force. The use of force for legal action was named as "Marathas loot" by the British people intentionally. During the British period, the same mistake in using the term was committed by historians. In order to defame YeshwantRao and to prove that he was "Plunderer; they formed the event as "YeshwantRao loot of Aurangabad". It was improper to ignore the greatness of YeshwantRao Holkar by defaming him thus. In fact YeshwantRao fought for his rights; but the British, called it "a loot". It is great tragedy that not only the British historians, but even the Indian history writers blindly committed the same mistake, while writing the history.

By the treaty of Bassein the Peshwa agreed to receive from the Company on a permanent basis, no less than 6 thousand regular native-infantry, with the usual proportion of field-pieces and European Artillery men attached and with the proper of these troops, the Peshwa agreed to cede in perpetuity to the Company Territories, yielding an annual income of Rs.26 lacks. These territories were situated in for the different parts of the Peshwa's possessions, 1. Gujrath and Territories south of it, 2. Territories on the south on the Tapi. 3. Territories between Tapi and the Narmada, 4 and the Territories near Tungabhadra. All the claims for Chauth on the Nizam's dominion were given up (67).

There is no denying the fact that by this treaty, the head of the Maratha confederacy was brought under the complete controll of the Company at the latter got a law-ful right to take steps for the preservation of the English traveller, 'The treaty of

Dassein has infact annihilated this Maratha Empire' (68)

YeshwantRao's conduct was singularly enigmatic at this period. While he was trying to organise a Maratha Confederacy, ~~(he was trying to organise Maratha Confederacy)~~ he wrote a letter to General Close on the 14th January, 1803, making many suggestions for an adjustment with the Peshwa. The following were the proposals of YeshwantRao.

1. Khanderao-II was to be released together with his relations and dependants. A Khilat of investiture was to be given to him.
2. Kashirao was to be delivered up.
3. The Peshwa was to give Holkar ONE Crore of rupees for the payment of Troops.
4. The Parganas in Malva, which had fallen into Sindhia's hand after the battle of Indore were to be restored to Holkar.
5. The fort of Ahmadnagar was to be restored to Holkar and etc. (69).

The Peshwa could hardly forget the bitterness of his humiliation at Hadapsar. The Peshwa sent the following reply to Holkar's demand.

1. The Payments of a Crores of rupees to Holkar should not arise because for desolating and lying waste his territories.
2. If the Peshwa had given a fortress to Sindhia, it did not mean that he should give another fortress to someone else.

3. Kashirao, being eldest son of Tukojirao Holkar had been nominated by his father as his heir.
4. Khanderao-II would probably be adopted by Kashirao who had no children.

THE FAILURE OF NEW REGIME; (Amritrao)

One of the important causes, causes of the failure of the new regime was that YeshwantRao failed to seat some one in the place of Bajirao-II. Another cause of the failure was a absence of a satisfactory settlement between Holkar and Sindhia.

Sarjerao Ghatke bragged of putting down YeshwantRao and the Peshwa constantly wrote Sindhia not to come to terms with Holkar. It was quite clear to YeshwantRao that a United front against the company's power could not raised without the active support and co-operation of Sindhia. (70).

YeshwantRao therefore, left Poona on the 25th Feb, 1803, entrusting the city to the charge of his faithful officer Harnathsingh. He failed to find a general acceptable substitute for Bajirao-II, he could not win English to his side and he also failed to make-up his affairs with Sindhia. As Lord Wellesley wrote, 'The Power of Yeshwant Rao Holkar possessed no solid function in the Justice of his cause, in popular opinion or in the extent of political or Military resources'. The new regime of YeshwantRao Holkar at Poona was merely a filmy-tissue of State Craft. (71).

THE SECOND PHASE OF THE ANGLO MARATHA WAR:

War Between Holkar and English:

While Sindhia and Bhonsle were close in combat with the English, with Treaty of Anjangaon Deogaon 30th Decm;1803 YeshwantRao was strengthening his army through fresh recruitment of soldiers and was replenishing his coffers by levying heavy contribution from friends and foes alike in Malva and Rajasthan.

Lord Welleslays idea was that YeshwantRao could not afford to be unfriendly to the English as a preliminary to peace with English, Holkar desired the acceptance of the following demands:

1. The British should not interfere with his traditional claims of Chauth upon some indians chiefs.
2. The territories formerly held by his family in the Doab and Bundelkhand such as Itawa, Mariana etc. should be restored to him.
3. Territories which was actually in his possession should be granted to him.
4. The British should enter into a alliance with him on the same terms as had been the case with Sindhia(72).

The high-tone of the demands foredoomed the negotiations to failure. This is what Mohansingh had also said that, 'Holkar's Vakils made some demands which were truly not in the least acceptable. Meanwhile Holkar threatened Major General Wellesley

that 'Countries of many hundred coss (Couple of miles) would be overrun, plunder and burnt and what Wellesley would not have the leisure to breathe for a moment, and Yeshwantrao returned from Punjab with the satisfaction that he had been able to save his ancestral state of Indore. But at heart he knew that all was lost, Along with the re-organisation of the Army, Yeshwantrao appears to have resumed his activities for the formation of another confederacy after returning from Punjab. Thus once again the attempt for forming a Maratha confederacy against the British failed. Daulatrao Sindhia could do nothing except holding whispered-conferences. The Bhonsle of Nagpur was even weaker than Daulatrao. He did nothing more than advising Yeshwantrao Holkar to act caution and circumspection.

YESHWANTRAO'S INSANITY DEATH:

During his stormy career Yeshwantrao had known no rest barring the occasional outbursts of wild orgies. The strenuous and busy life, the ceaseless campaigns, the dissipated habits, the excessive use of liquor, the hard labour at the factory at Burhanpur and above all the frustration of his plan and efforts effected his mind (73).

xxx There were anarchy in the Holkar-State during the period from 1808 to 1811. The Hills encouraged by the absence of regular government, began to plunder the open plains. Villages and towns were burnt and sacked. Several of the Principal officers such as Ramdin, Raghubapu, Rohan-Bag, Bapu-Vishnu, were

appointed Subhedars and sent away with their ~~xx~~ military detachments. They plundered and lavid contributions from ~~xx~~ Holkars Territories, the district of Sindhia, Pawar and other petty-chiefs in Malva. The pindharis of Holkar devastated the district to the north of Ujjain--

YeshwantRao felt that his end was drawing near. Tulsabai who had no child, adopted MalharRao-III, the only son of YeshwantRao had by Keshribai. His wished was that the Peshwa - showed grant his son a robe of investiture (Khilat). He made request to Elphiston to persuade the Peshwa to do this. Death put an end of the sufferings of YeshwantRao in the morning at 11th Kartik, Samvant 1868, corresponding to the 27th October, 1811 at Bhanapura. The Peshwa who had once called Holkar a monster, stopped his nabhat(band)for three days on hearing of Holkar's death(74).

BASELLES CRITICIMS ON SINDHIA BHONSALE COMBINED WAR AGAINST THE ~~BRITHIS~~ BRITISH.:

The British rulers spread their empire throughout India by treachery. Actually Brithis Rulers had not done a single good act but Mr. Basu in his book "Rise of Christian Power in India" praised the British Rulers and their acts and unnecessarily criticised Mr. YeshwantRao Holkar. It is a fact that Mr. Holkar was aloof in the war between Sindhia Bhonsale against the British Rulers in April 1803.

It would be more correct to look into the reasons given by YeshwantRao Holkar in his letters. The notes in his diary dated June 1803 and 12th July 1803 showed the following facts. He (Holkar)^{was} against the British Rulers and he was willing to unite with Sindhia Bhonsale in true sense, on the other hand Sindhia Bhonsale talked in one way and acted in another way. No YeshwantRao Holkar depended on his family God i.e. Laxmikant (Khandoba) and did not join Sindhia Bhonsale combined war against the British (75). The third letter of YeshwantRao Holkar dated 25th August 1803 showed that he wanted real friendship with Sindhia and Bhonsale but he further desired that the British Rulers must not become stable in India. He actually wanted to fight for freedom (Swarajya). But the fact was that Bhonsale and Sindhia did not want friendship with YeshwantRao Holkar. There were ample evidences to prove above the facts. Even Bajirao II supported Daulatrao Sindhia who was against YeshwantRao Holkar. It showed that even Bajirao II did not want friendship between YeshwantRao Holkar and Sindhia Bhonsale combination. He thought that if the Marathas were able to defeat the British, then the real advantage would go to YeshwantRao Holkar who was a real warrior. It showed that all the (Mr. Bajirao II, Mr. Daulatrao Sindhia and Bhonsale) envied YeshwantRao Holkar in their hearts (76).

Contemporary History record showed that people wanted real friendship between Yeshwantrao Holkar and Sindhia Bhonsale combination because they thought that only Yeshwantrao Holkar could really fight with the British rulers. They also thought that without the active help from Yeshwantrao Holkar; ~~the~~ from Sindhia Bhonsale combination could not fight with the British(77).

"Although Yeshwantrao Holkar was unable to oppose the British Artillery in the field. He stated that countires of many hundred coss would be overrun and plunder and burnt, that he (British commander in chief) would not have leisure to breathe for a moment and that calamities would fall on lacks of human beings by the overwhelm like the waves of the sea". Actually Daulatrao Sindhia was treacherous but he criticised Yeshwantrao Holkar as tracherous Yeshwantrao Holkar know the real nature of Sindhia Bhonsale and Bajirao II and exposed them. So they spread venom against Yeshwantrao(78).

It was a fact that Daulatrao Sindhia was defeated by the British and so Daulatrao Sindhia wanted to grab the land belonged to Yeshwantrao Holkar so he started ^{envy}ing him. In real sense only Yeshwantrao Holkar was the enemy of the British (79).

Yeshwantrao Holkar fought with the British for independence and saving religion. Though he was defeated in the battle of Ding on 13th November 1803, people thought that only Holkar could fight with the British. Yeshwantrao Holkar sought the support of many Land-lords and Princes of from Northen India

and combined them together and with their help he encouraged them to increase their army. In order to defeat the British. The prince of Bharatpur broke his friendship with the British and joined with YeshwantRao Holkar. In order to punish YeshwantRao Holkar. The British Rulers attacked YeshwantRao Holkar four times on January 7, February 11, 20, 21, but the British rulers were unsuccessful to punish him (80).

When the British made attack on YeshwantRao Holkar, YeshwantRao left his place and his kingdom and he stated that "My country and prosperity are upon the saddle of my horse". In this way he fought the war of independence against the British on 10th February 1804 General lake wrote a letter to him. "If you would not attack us, we would not retaliate". YeshwantRao Holkar replied that he would fight till he would get all his rights from the British Rulers.

"He further said that the whole of the country in that direction could come into his possession" (81).

READY TO EMBLASS SIKH FOR INDEPENDANCE.:

The British Rulers defeated Pashwa Bajirao II and they were successful to with DaulatRao Sindhia and Bhonsale to their side. These were many enemies of YeshwantRao Holkar. He tried to with friendship of Sikhs in Punjab. He further told them that if they would fight with the British rulers, alongwith him he was ready to embiress sikh religion in order to win the lost

independence. The princes of Punjab were ready to accept him in their religion. Even the priests were ready to convert him into their religion. He also threatened them; if they would not convert him into Sikh religion he might accept Muslim Religion. The purpose of YeshwantRao Holkar was that he wanted to form friendship with Sikh and tried to take them to his side; in order to fight with the British rulers; in the struggle for independence (82).

Sikhs were engaged in Afghan and so they did not want YeshwantRao Holkar to embrace into Muslim religion. General Lake approached Ranjitsingh and told him not to help YeshwantRao Holkar. The main purpose of British Rulers was that they wanted to destroy the base of YeshwantRao Holkar and if YeshwantRao Holkar was able to win the friendship of Sikhs, they (the British Rulers) would be in trouble. It could be seen that thus YeshwantRao Holkar was successful to dodge the British Rulers. He tried to be with Pathans in Afgan by telling them that if they would fight with the British Rulers he would convert into their religion. But he could not get help either from Sikhs or Pathans (Afgan) and so at the eleventh hour he had to accept the terms of the British Rulers on 24th December 1805 with General Malcolm. In the mean time he had not lost his heart from 15th August 1807; 25th August 1807 and 30th August 1807 he tried to improve his artillery in order to fight with the British Rulers. He thought that the Power of British Rulers enjoy

in their artillery. The place of Artillery^{production} was Maheshwar near Bhilwada (83).

B. SELESS CRITICISM ABOUT THE MURDER OF KHANDERAO AND KASHIRAO HOLKAR.

YeshwantRao Holkar had to face many difficulties. Among them was the threat of Amirkhan. So he kept Khanderao (the son of Mr. MalharRao Holkar II and his nephew), with Amirkhan to win his friendship. But Khanderao died of cholera while he was with Amirkhan Pandari. This fact was also supported by the notes in diary which stated that he died at Cholera on 14th Feb. 1807 (84). YeshwantRao Holkar brought back Khanderao from the clutches of DaulatRao Sindhia and he was enthroned in 1803. The many was minted in his name in 1804. But DaulatRao declared that YeshwantRao gave him poison and he died of poisoning. Malcolm also gave this misleading fact in his history on central India. It was a combined plot of the British rulers and DaulatRao Sindhia to criticize YeshwantRao Holkar so that he would become unpopular in his region. It was a mere coincidence that after the death of Khanderao Kashirao soon died. So the enemies of YeshwantRao Holkar took advantage and declared that YeshwantRao murdered these two main relatives namely Khanderao and Kashirao to further his interest. Actually the criticism of Malcolm was baseless. He was English historian and general of the British Rulers in India. YeshwantRao Holkar was his real enemy. Naturally he made propaganda against YeshwantRao Holkar to defame him (85).

Some strong critics were jealous of Mr. YeshwantRao Holkar, because of his capability and skill a warrior, began to plot against him by joining KashiRao Holkar who was a brother to YeshwantRao. YeshwantRao's enemies tried to take help of the Poona and Baroda. English Residents. But the British Rulers told them that YeshwantRao Holkar had become their friend so they could not go against YeshwantRao Holkar. At last the opponents of YeshwantRao declared KashiRao the real prince Holkarshahi and tried to create loot and arsen in the state(86).

This could be proved because ample evidence was available in 1805. The plotters belonged to Khandesh and their names were dadun and Bangasha (the Khandesh Muslims). They made KashiRao as their friend and tried to make loot and arsen in the Holkar state. When YeshwantRao knew the details of the plot; he carried KashiRao to Bijagarh fort. Then Chimanbhai took refuge the Bajigarh fort. The plotters fought with chimanbhai, and in that fighting. KashiRao and his wife Laxmibai were killed(87).

When the news of killings of kashirao and his wife was received by DaulatRao Sindhia he compared these. Killings with the death of KhandeRao Holkar. He meant that, all these persons were murdered by YeshwantRao Holkar. Malcolm the British Historian also critical YeshwantRao Holkar in the same way and tried to defame him but this was utterly false. An such false stories were written by Malcolm, ten years after the death of YeshwantRao Holkar in his history book. The fact was that Malcolm was the real enemy of YeshwantRao Holkar(88).

Martin, the British officers, who was also English Historian published Lord Wellesley despatches in Five Volumes. In the first volume it is stated that Yeshwantrao Holkar used to call the British as 'Kafar'. So the Historian called Holkar as a model of cruelty and also called him drunkard. Yeshwantrao Holkar also ^{hinted} mentioned that unless the British rulers were expelled from the country, no religion either Hindu^{-Satan} or Muslim could flourish there (89).

Yeshwantrao Holkar was the real enemy of the British Rules and he used to treat Hindu Muslim on the same footing. He strongly believed that the British Rulers should not be allowed to rule this country. As Yeshwantrao called the Britishen "Kafar" so the historian (mainly British) rebuffed Yeshwantrao as a model of cruelty (90).

The another criticism on Yeshwantrao who that he was a great drunkard. The charge was made by British and Indian historian. But this was criticism baseless. Malcolm wrote that Yeshwantrao used to drink wine in excess and to prove that he wrote foot notes in his book a namely "An memoirs of central India" (2 Vols) "when Yeshwantrao was at Poona for work the wine was brought to Poona from Bombay in such proportion that the shopkeepers in Bombay used to close for some days". Such criticism was beyond imagination and utterly false (91).

YeshwantRao Holkar was a great warrior. If he would have become great drunkard; he might have been committed a mistake in him veteran but not a single incidence could be quoted in the History book. This shows that YeshwantRao was brave warrior who fought with the British Rulers; and so on enemy of the British rulers criticised him unnecessary; and out of proportion.

Not only he fought with the British Ruler for same time but he had to fought ^{officers & others} with for seven years. So the image of YeshwantRao as a great drunkard made by the British Ruler and Historian must be utterly false. This would require no other evidence. YeshwantRao Holkar was strong and stout and in the youth, he became weak. This was mentioned in the History book by Malcolm to prove that Mr.YeshwantRao Holkar was a great drunkard. It means that anyway he had to determine YeshwantRao Holkar. He wanted that the real and good qualities(valour and skill in fighting) must be buried by the chest of drunks. This was the real aim of Malcolm for British Historian(92). With the charge of drunkards Malcolm also charged YeshwantRao Holkar for prostitution. This was invited by Malcolm only himself. But the fact was that YeshwantRao was busy in preparing of artillery and ground fighting from morning to night and he also looked to the welfare of his state case such things he done by YeshwantRao Holkar, who was addicted, to drink and

prostituted? It means true the real facts were hidden by Malcolm English Historian. This shows that YeshwantRao Holkar was a great man of that age; but this fact was not palatable for Malcolm and the British Rulers(93).

PERSONALITY AND CAREER;

YeshwantRao Holkar is one of those golden rogues in whom history will always be interested. He possessed a heart full of medieval passions, but a study of his character and career in a perspective of dispassionate review and sympathy reveals that he was not without accomplishments. In private and public-life, even if his many faults are borne in mind, one can not but feel that he was particularly unfortunate and that he moved in an atmosphere that was politically and socially vicious(94).

Though cruel, he was respectful to the elderly members of his family and had tears for those whom he loved ardently. he cherished the loving memory of Ahilyabai, was deep and genuine. As a soldier he was genius Maratha in brains and desperate and for contempt of death a noble Rajput comparable with Mukandasing of Rathod on the field of Dharmat. As regards other branches of administrations, the Judiciary, the police, and the Espionage deserved notice, he had great faith in his spies. In theory, the ruler was the function of justice, but the function seems to have died up in the Holkar State with the death of Ahilyabai.

YeshwantRao was a soldier and the ruler next by his aptitudes (95).

YeshwantRao was a great warrior and he fought for the independence of this country. If the real history would be written many unnecessarily criticism would prove to be false and he would emerge as one of the greatest leaders of India. Holkar Kaifiyat, Holkar diary Bhawani Shankar's Diary, the History a Holkar correspondence and ballads would show that Mr.YeshwantRao Holkar was a great and ambitious patriot. Looking into qualities of YeshwantRao Holkar. If the real History would be written then the British and Indian Historian would be proved wrong in the long run. On the other hand he would be emerged in a great patriot, warrior, selflessness man of this country. His life story can be a real guide to the History writer in future.

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- 91) Sardesai: opcit Vol.III p.357 Malcolm memoir of central India Vol.I pp.200, 205.
- 92) N.R.Phatak: Yeshwant Rao Charitra Sardesai opcit pp.169-170.

- 93) Barode Daftaratil Itihasik Weche Vol.IV Lr.July Oct.1805.
Dec.1806, Nagpur Bhonsalchi Bakhar p.199.
- 94) Quango' opcit pp.276-277.
- 95) P.R.C. Vol.X pp.141-142.
Thakur opcit Vol.II p.19
Quango opcit pp.77-78.

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CHAPTER.II.

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SINDHIA IN MALWA. : :

SINDHIA'S IN MALWA :

RANUJI SINDHIA -THE FOUNDER OF MARATHA POWER IN MALWA:

One Nemaji Sindhia invded Malwa in 1704, reaching as far as Kalabagh. Nemaji was an important chieftain and his early adherence to Chhatrapati Shahu's cause, strengthened Shahu's position. The Patels of Khanderkhad in Satara district, were Sindhias who ^{were} in Mughal captivity. Ranuji Sindhia was therefore, not the first in the family, who rose to fame, but he was the founder of the family, which had left its impress on the course of Maratha History. Three generations of Sindhias served the Peshwa and sacrificed their lives in the cause of their and their country. (1).

Ranoji Sindhia, the founder of the northern Malwa dominion, was perhaps a junior member of the Patel family of Khanderkhad. To seek his fortune he entered the personal service of Peshwa Balaji-Vishwanath. As Malcolm remarks, 'it is probable that ambition, not indivence, influaneced a member of the Patel family to become in the first instance, the menial servant of Balaji Vishwanath who is justly regarded as the second founder of the Maratha Empire'(2). He was soon promoted as a captin of cavalry under the Peshwa's

able son Bajirao-I. In 1720 AD, when Balaji Vishwanath died and his son Bajirao-I succession was under discussion Ranoji Sindhia was a prominent chief in the Peshwa's service. He seems to be in an obscure position in the this Peshwa's regime, which was directed more towards the attainment of Territorial aims, by diplomatic skilled rather than by an open appeal to arms (3). In July 1729, Ranoji was further elevated he was granted the Saranjam that was previously enjoyed by Pilaji Jadhav and also received the honour of using the Flanquin. In 1730, the chauth and Sardeshmukhi of Subha, Malwa was granted to Malharrao Holkar. Next year on October 1731, Ranoji Sindhia was associated with him with equal powers. About the same time, the Peshwa's seals were sent to Ranoji to be used as his direction. After this Malwa became the field of Ranoji's activities with Ujjain, as his head-quarters where he reviewed the worship in many ancient temples(4).

The illustrious scholars of Maharashtra, the late Mr. Justice Randey has dwelt on this subject exhaustively. On the authority of Indian as well as European historians pointed out that Peshwa Bajirao raised Chhatrapati Shivaaji's small state to the status of an Empire. Bajirao's lieutenants-Ranoji Sindhia, Malharrao Holkar,

the Pawar of Dewas and others rose to eminence during this Peshwa's invariably victorious career. Ranoji Sindhia was one of the Commanders, who had the army against Mughal and also fought against Sadat-Khan and got victory (5). The imperial Farman came three years later that Sindhia, Holkar stood guarantee for the performance of duty by the Peshwa and directly it to the extension of the Maratha power to the rich provinces of Hindustan. Ranoji Sindhia continued to serve his master as faithfully as he had done before. He served the first three Peshwas and had the good-luck to live to old age honoured by success and favoured by fortune. He died at Shujalpur in July 1745, while in service (6).

Several causes have been assigned to explain in the very rapid rise of Ranoji Sindhia to Power. Some say that Ranoji Sindhia owed his greatness to the influence of Malharrao Holkar. This ^{is} certainly difficult to understand and seems to have no stamp of truth on its face. In Holkar Kaifiyat, the cause of Ranoji's rise is attributed to the intercession of Malharrao Holkar. But this account as is already observed does not appear to be true and is at the same time not corroborated by weighty authority (7).

That Ranoji Sindhia was an exceeding ^{devotee} devout and faithful

Maratha is beyond the ^{place} pale of doubt. He was brave and of a clever in nature. He possessed an exceedingly religious bent of mind. He was high minded and generous a free frank in his behaviour. It is certainly difficult to believe that Ranoji Sindhia courted Maharrao Holkar's friendship through greed or financial pressure, as mentioned by General Malcolm in his Memoirs of Central India (8). It would be enough to point out that all accounts are more or less unanimous in the belief that Ranoji Sindhia's uncommon attachment and devotion to his master the Peshwa Bajirao-I, caused the extension of the Maratha Power to rich provinces of Hindustan. Ranoji Sindhia died at Shujalpur. He had three sons from his first wife-Jayaappa, Dattaji and Jyotiba and two from the second Mahadji and Tukoji (9).

SINDHIA'S PROMINENT ROLE IN BATTLE OF PANIPAT :

Jayappa succeeded his father in his Jahagir, which was then worth about Rs.65 lakhs, per annum. His position was made difficult by the new Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, who could not see beyond immediate gains, and who in his inordinate greed for money, forgot the old ideals of alliances with the Hindu Rulers and establishing Hindu ascendancy.

Next year a big army marched into Hindustan under the nominal leadership of the Peshwa's brother Raghunathrao. Jayappa Sindhia and Malharrao Holkar were the main advisers. Raghunathrao on his arrival in the Jat country, demanded the huge tribute of one crore of rupees. The Jat Raja Surajmal pleaded his inability to pay such a big amount and asked the Maratha Chiefs to show some consideration. Raghunathrao, on the advice of Holkar refused to budge an inch from his demand and began to seize the fort of Kumbher wherein the Jat Raja was sheltering. The Maratha army was ill-equipped for seize operations and made little impression on the Jat defences. On the day a strong ^{gun} shot from the defenders killed Malharrao Holkar's only son Khanderao (1754), whose death Holkar vowed to avenge. The seize had dragged on for three months keeping a huge Maratha army tied down (10). On the intercession of Jayappa Sindhia, Raghunathrao agreed to accept a much smaller tribute and raised the seize. Sindhia's intervention in the dispute is looked on as the beginning of discord between the two houses of Sindhia and Holkar and gradually led to evil result. In this connection G.S. Sardesai thus speaks of it that, 'The ill feeling between Sindhia and Holkar led to evil results of Panipat and main cause for the down-fall of Maratha Empire' (11).

The Peshwa Balaji Bajirao called the Sindhia to Pune where Jankoji Sindhia conferred Sindhia's jahagir. Sindhian force fought with great bravery in the battle of Sindkhed (December 19, 1758). It was despatched to Hindustan in 1758 to guard the new Maratha conquest to defend the Mughal Empire against the Afghan menace and levy tribute from Bengal, Bihar and Orrisa. In 1759, Dattaji Sindhia marched into the Punjab, put Sabaji Sindhia in-charge of the province and then in June, crossed the Jamuna to punish Nazibkhan Rohila (12).

Dattaji Sindhia realised too late the treachery of Nazibkhan. He broke his compact Shukratal sent away his heavy baggage and non-combatants and moved in the direction of the capital. Abdali king and Nazibkhan crossed over at Barrighat of the Jamuna on 10th January, 1760 and overpowered Sindhia's force. Dattaji Sindhia was leading the vain-guard and fell victim to a bullet from the ^{enemy's} sharp-shooter. Sindhia's force 20,000 strong was unable to withstand the overwhelming number of enemy armed with muskets and swivel guns (13). Malharrao Holkar tried Guerilla tactics till fresh reinforcements equipped with artillery, arrived ^{in the} north. But on 4th March, 1760, he was surprised near Sikandrabad and defeated with heavy losses. The Maratha

force fled southward to await the arrival of the Bhau with the Peshwa's grand army (14).

The battle of Panipat (14th January 1761) has been already described in Holkar's Malwa. On that fateful day the Maratha army annihilated and with it contingent of the Sindhias. Tukoji Sindhia died fighting, while Jankoji was wounded, taken prisoner and killed by the Afghan Army. The Sindhian force suffered a severe set-back from which it took several years to recover. But from the battle-field providentially escaped Mahadji Sindhia, who was later on to build up the vast Sindhia-State in Hindustan (15). Raghunathrao desired to put another Sindhia in possession of Jahgir, but Peshwa Madhavrao-I appreciated the loyal services of Ranoji's son and appointed despite his illegitimate birth, Mahadji to the Jahagir in 1767.

He was already functioning as defacto chief of the Sindhia Jahagir from 1762. In 1766, he was succeeded in taking Gwalior from the Rana of Gohad and thence began the Historic Association of Gwalior with the house of Sindhia (16).

MAHADJI SINDHIA AND MARATHA ASCENDENCY IN NORTH :

The Peshwa wanted efface the ignominy of the disasters of Panipat, punish the treachery of Nazib-Ud-Daullah

Rohila and regained Maratha ascendancy in the north, for this purpose a great Maratha army led by Ranochandra Ganesh and Vishaji Krishna entered at the end of 1769. The Jat army that barred Maratha progress, was defeated on 5th April, 1770. However the Rohilla chief, who did his best to defeat Maratha plan and secretly formed an anti Maratha alliance. But Nsib died on 31st October, 1770 AD. Ranochandra Ganesh was recalled and the leadership of the expedition fell to Vishaji Krishna and Mahadji Shindhia(17).

Mahadji Shindhia defeated the Pathans near Farruka bad and re occupied the old Maratha districts in Doab. On 10th February, 1771, he took the fort of Delhi by assault and invited the Emperor Shah Alam to return to his capital. The exiled emperor entered the city on 6th January, 1772. The Maratha army then started in pursuit of Zebetkhan, the son of their avowed enemy Nzaibkhan Rohilla. It defeated him at Bhukratel and over ran his place Nasibgarh, Mahadji Shindhia had the satisfaction to see the death of his brothers and nephew avanged. However, the ultimate death of Peshwa Mahadivrao I halted further progress of Maratha arms in Hindustan (18).

The decade from 1772-1782 was a period of stress and strains for the Marathas state. Narayanrao, who had succeeded his brother in the Peshwaship was murdered in August, 1773 AD. It was soon discovered that his uncle Raghunathrao and his wife Anandbai were the prime movers behind the plot to remove the nephew and usurp the Peshwaship. The entire council at Puna formed the league of the 'Bar-bhais' a regency council.

Raghunathrao in hopes of winning support from Sindhia and Holkar fled to Indore, but having failed in his expectations concluded a treaty with English on 6th March 1777 at Surat. For some time Mahadji Sindhia was with the Gujrat, army of the Peshwa trying to bring about reconciliation between the regency council and Raghunathrao. But Raghunathrao showed more faith in his English allies than his own compatriots and took shelter with them (19).

The Governor General Warren Hastings not only rejected the humiliating terms of the convention but ^{also} sent a force to attack, Mahadji Sindhia's Jahagir and cripple him in Malwa. Sindhia who had been fighting in Gujrat now arrived in Malwa in June, 1780 to defend his territory. Sindhia improved his position by constantly harassing the enemies' flanks and inflicting a defeat on 1st July, 1780 near Sipra (20).

By this time the Governor General had become^{me} aware of the grand alliance formed against the East India Company by the country-powers and knowing English inability to fight on several fronts simultaneously was anxious to come an understanding with the Marathas. By the 16th Article of Salbai on 17th May, 1782, Mahadji Sindhia agreed to the, 'The mutual Guarantee of the both parties for the perpetual adherence to the conditions of the treaty' (21).

MAHADJI SINDHIA AND CONTROLLED OVER DELHI-DARBAR :

The situation at Delhi was very favourable to recover the lost ground and regain Maratha ascendancy in the imperial court. Shah-Alam, the Mughal Emperor had bartered away to the English, the Diwani of Bengal for a pension of 26 lakhs of rupees and a promise to lead him back to the capital. The Emperor had become sore with the English and had often thought of taking refuge with the Marathas and lending his aid and support to their ambitious plans in Hindustan. He felt that the Marathas alone would have the situation and a vast Maratha army would silence the English-guns (22). Shah-Alam now turned to Mahadji for protection and for regulating his empire. On 1st December 1782, the emperor at a Public-

-Darbar appointed the, 'Peshwa as his Deputy (Naib-I-Munsib) as e well as commander-in-chief (Bakshi-Ul-Mamalik) subject to the condition that Mahadji Sindhia himself should be permanent^d agent of the Peshwa in discharging the functions of these two offices. The Puna Minister Nana Phadnis protested that 'Sindhia had accepted honours higher than the Peshwa and later on the honours of Vakil-I-Mutalik' was conferred on the Peshwa with Sindhia as his Deputy(23).

Mahadji Sindhia was now free to prosecute his ambitious plans in Hindustan. He had observed the superior fighting qualities of disciplined troops of the East-India-Co; in Gujrat and in Malwa, and had made-up his mind to build his army on the new model. He was fortunate in acquiring the services of the Savoyard soldier, de-boigne Count Benoit. The new army brought Sindhia spectacular successes against Indian rulers, but during the process the military became completely denationalized. The brigades when pitted against British Armies at Assaye and Laswari in 1803 failed miserably because the European Officers deserted them and the ranks and file had not grasped the higher tactics and strategy. The famous cavalry and lost its alen (24).

The battle of Lalsot against Rajput combination turned out to be almost a 'Second Panipat'. On account of the desertion of the Europeans Hindustani battalions, about 14000 infantry with 80 pieces of Cannon, only two days after the fighting commenced, Mahadji Sindhia himself retreated to the protection of the Jat Raja's fortress of Dig. He sent ^{frequent} fervent appeals to the Puna Minister to rush him reinforcements and treasury, if he desired him to re-establishment and Maratha supremacy at the Mughal court. Every body advised him to retreat before the advancing enemy but to save himself retiring, he felt, was worse than death. 10 thousand Maratha troops, were surrounded by 100 thousand Hindustani troops and Mahadji was therefore, anxiously awaiting for succours from the south. His condition was like that of the 'Gajendra' who was being dragged into the deep pool by a crocodile. Mahadji appealed to the Puna minister 'Let the cause of the Maratha nation be upheld in Hindustan and prevent our empire from being disunited and overthrown'. However Nana's response was tardy. He despatched some treasure and asked Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar (Sindhia's rival) to march to help Mahadji. Ali bahadur reached Sindhia after a year and Holkar six months later. However, Mahadji had to act on his own with great circumspection(25).

Ismail Beg with the Achilla, and Gulam quadir moved out against Sindhia's forces marching to the relief of Agra. The Maratha caverly cracked before the furious onslaught of the musalman chiefs; but the day was saved by De Boigne's battalions. Sindhia would not proceed to the capital in the wake of the defeated army. This delay an indecision on the part of Sindhia brought disaster on the king and his family. The two desperate Musalman Chiefs marched to Delhi, obtained entrance into the Red fort to discover the hidden treasure in the fort. When the king Shah Alam denied, his family was beaten, tortured and disgraced. In fit of anger the Gulam Quadir plucked out the eyes of the Monarch(26).

The Maratha Army which arrived the next day found the fort strangely silent. The imprisoned princes implored the Maratha General, to enter the fort and occupy it. Mahadji arrived in the capital and re instated the Emperor with great pomp. He received in return confirmation of the dignities of Vakil I Mutalik and Nawab I Munsab conferred five years back (27).

Though he was the master of Hindustan he enumerated his faithfull and important services to the Peshwa and his

house, declared that he had no object and if the Peshwa wished that his rival should triumph over him he was prepared to resign his authority and possessions into his hands. This artful speech made a visible impression on the mind of the Young Peshwa and caused him shed tears. Seven months later Mahadji Sindhia was still in Puna. He died at Wanvadi on February 1794, after a short illness (28).

MAHADJI SINDHIA'S DEATH AND ITS CONSEQUENCES :

Mahadji's death was a turning point in the history of the Marathas. The removal of this great Maratha Chieftain did away with the major barrier to the expansion of the British power in the north. After the death of Mahadji Sindhia, the establishment of Maratha power in Deccan, should have been opposed either by arms or by negotiations. For more than a decade Mahadji Sindhia held North-Indian political fabric under the surveillance of the Marathas and had re-established Maratha power in an unenviable position. But with his death tragical events followed in close succession. The Emperor Shah-Alam keenly felt the absence of the strong personality (29).

For 12 years Mahadji served the Emperor unflinchingly without ever-disowning the Peshwa's authority over

Hindustan. However, the death of Mahadji Sindhia in 1794 created many vexatious problems for the Marathas, to the solution of which Daulatrao a pleasure-loving, thoughtless young man proved utterly unequal. It was indeed true that the disunity and dissension among the Rajputs considerably helped Mahadji to raise the Marathas to the amazing height of glory, now Rajput were ready to contest against the Marathas. After the Death of Mahadji Sindhia the Mughal emperor Shah-Alam-II was therefore (in September, 1803) welcomed ^{by} the English as deliverers (30).

One note-worthy feature of Mahadji Character was his freedom from caste or religious bias. He was equally respected by Muslims and Hindus. In establishing Maratha contrroll over the Imperial Govt. of Delhi and wiping off the ^{disgrace} of Panipat. Mahadji Sindhia had to about alone, nay in the teeth of pinpricks and covert oppositions by the court of Puna. Rao-Bahadur G.S. Sardesai comments on Mahadji-Sindhia and his career that, 'He triumphed in the end, but that triumph was dearly purchased at the expense of years of frustration of swaying fortune and of immense personal suffering. He towers over Maratha History in solitary grandeur,

a ruler of India without any ally, without a party. If there is one man who could be credited with the authorship of full-filling the Maratha Dream of Hindu-Pad-Padshahi, that man admittedly was Mahadji Sindhia (31).

Sir J.S.Sarkar praised his character and achievements that, 'Mahadji Sindhia a heroic personallity, dominates the north Indian history of his time like a colossus. His resources were defective, his instruments and allies often play him false, many an anxious crises he had to face, and yet in the end he triumphed over all (32).

To sum-up the conclusion with English historian Malletson that, 'by the death of Mahadji Sindhia the Maratha lost their ablest warrior and their most foreseeing statesman. In his life he had two main objects, the one to found a kingdom the other to prepare for the contest for empire with the English. In both, it may be said, he succeeded. Had he lived Mahadji would have brought under one standard the horseman and the French contingent of Tipu Sultan, the founder artillery of the Nizam, the whole force of the Rajputs and the Maratha influence from Puna, Indore, Baroda and Nagpur the great problem of contest between a united India and

English would have been fairly fought-put. However, his unfortunate death settle the sinister result was only a question of time (33).

DAULATRAO SINDHIA :

Mahadji Sindhia left no son. His own brother Tukoji a had left three sons, Kedarji, who had died without issue, Raolaji, who left two sons and Anandrao, who left one. Mahadji, before he died, expressed the desire that Daulatrao the son of Anandrao should succeed although he had never been formerly adopted. To this Lakshibai, Mahadji's chief widow, objected but she was over-ruled and Daulatrao then scarcely fifteen years of age succeeded Sindhia's family.

Born in wealthy surroundings, brought-up among foreign troops from whom he had learnt to despise those of his own country, the possession of a dominant Military organisation and of vast territories which included two-third of Malwa and also the land between the Satlaj river and Allahabad, Daulatrao supposed himself as an Independant prince and not as a vassal of the Peshwa(34).

The first important event in which Daulatrao took part was the battle of Kharda. In 1793 Lord Corn Wallis had

invited the Peshwa and the Nizam as parties to the treaties of 1790, to join in a treaty of mutual guarantee by which the peace of the Deccan would be ensured. The Nizam at once ^{accepted} acceded to the propositions, but the Peshwa, who had already designed to subjugate, the ruler of Hyderabad refused and put forward a claim for arrears of Chauth, said to be due from the Nizam.

Maratha Chiefs advanced on Hyderabad. The battle of Kharda was fought on 12th March, 1795. The most noteworthy feature of this campaign was the large assemblage of European led troops in the Maratha army, amounting to 40 thousand men to which Sindhia contributed De-Boigne's Brigade under Perron Michel Fioloses corps of 6 battalions, Hessian's of 4 battalions, and a large force cavalry. It is a curious thought although little or no fighting took place, this victory is always regarded by Marathas with exaggerated complacency as a splendid achievement. Madhavrao's death was followed by sense of Anarchy and intrigue unsurpassed in the history of India. Mana Phadnis was at first opposed to Bajirao-II's successions while Baloba Tantia, Sindhia's minister supported him. After a complicated series of plots and counter-plots, however, the Mana became Bajirao's supporter. Sindhia was then owned over to this

Side by the grant of the town of Ahamadnagar and territory with 10 lacks revenue. This negotiation was carried out ~~at~~ through Sakharam Ghateke. Sarjerao of the Kagal family a man destined to be the evil genius of the young chief for the next fifteen years. Sarjerao's influence over Daulatrao was augmented by Sindhia's desire to marry his daughter.

In March 1800 Nana Phadnis's death ^{had} and left Sindhia without a competitor at Poona but affairs in Malwa had become critical. Yeshwantrao Holkar was rapidly devasting all Sindhia's districts and in November, he quitted Poona leaving Sarjerao to look after his interest, supported by 5 battalions of regular infantry and 10 thousand horses (35).

Daulatrao was neither a General nor a administrator, while his early training had made him impatient of failure and opposition and unable to wait for the proper movement to strike. He was intellectually unequal to the task of controlling the vast possession to which he had succeeded or maintaining the political ascendancy created by his predecessor.

REVOLT AGAINST THE PESHWA : :

As soon as Daulatrao Sindhia left Poona for Malwa Yeshwantrao Holkar's brother Vitthoji raised a banner of revolt against the Peshwa at Kolhapur. The Peshwa's army took Vitthoji prisoner; to avenge Vitthoji's death Yeshwantrao Holkar advanced on Poona. The situation in which Bajirao found himself frightened him and on 11th October, 1802, he wrote to the English residence and agreed, to cede a fort near the Tungbhadra river, for the permanent stationing of the subsidiary army in the territory and to set apart a portion of the territory in Gujrat or Karnatic, with an annual income of Rs. 25 lacs for the army's maintainance. But Bajirao's submission to Wellesley's terms did not by any means, end his troubles. When Yeshwantrao Holkar's army arrived and attacked Poona, the English would not help him (36).

BATTLE OF POONA AND BAJIRAO'S FLIGHT :

A fierce battle was fought at Poona on 25th Oct:1802, between Yeshwantrao's army and Peshwa's army helped by Daulatrao Sindhia. The English army which had by then arrived at Poona and for which Bajirao had agreed to pay, did not help the ^{1st} ~~letter~~. According to GrandDuff,

"Yeshwantrao Holkar tried after Bajirao's flight to Bassein to bring the latter back to Poona as Peshwa. But he was thwarted because peace between the two would have ended the distractions in the Maratha Empire, which Wellesley had deliberately created in the interest of the British empire by playing off one Maratha ruler against another". Yeshwantrao Holkar having failed to conclude peace with Bajirao, he decided to install Amrutrao; half-brother of Bajirao of the Peshwa's gadi (37).

THE SITUATION IN THE MARATHA CONFEDERACY :

Originally there were five founder members of the Maratha confederacy, namely, The Peshwa, Gaikwad, Sindhia, Holkar and Bhonsle. Each of them had agreed to help one another and not to enter individually into any pact of treaty with any other political power without the concurrence of the others. Out of the five, Gaikwad had left the confederacy about the time of the first Maratha War. The Holkar brothers Kashirao and Yeshwantrao were busy fighting each other for the Gadi and the English were keeping them at it by helping each of them

alternately. The third, the Peshwa who was now as much, a prisoner of the English'. The remaining two, Daulatrao Sindhia and Bhonsle, saw in the submission of the Peshwa to the foreigners will and dectates a grave danger to the independance of 4 other Maratha rulers (38).

THE BREAK-DOWN OF THE MARATHA CONFEDRACY :

It was no good omen for the Maratha confedraacy when Yeshwantrao Holkar and Daulatrao Sindhia were higgling about the terms which could bring them together and Lord Wellesley was persuing his plans with great determination for the restoration of the Peshwa to Poona. Lord Wellesley requested Amrutrao to withdraw from Poona assuring him the Governer General would get all his grievences redressed by a Peshwa. Holkar had lost all interest in Amrutrao because he had failed to satisfy the formers demands (39).

Yeshwantrao was the first of the Maratha confedraacy to suggest the formation of the Maratha coalition against the British. It is indeed a tragedy that even a General sense of danger could not induce the Maratha chieftains to reconcile their interest. Yeshwantrao Holkar received nothing but false assurances from Daulatrao Shindhia and also from Raghuji Bhonsle against English (40).

PESHWA'S DESIRE OF RE-UNITING MARATHA RULER AGAINST ENGLISH ;

It would appear that after his flight from Poona to Bassein Bajirao had, before signing the treaty of the Bassein sent secret agents to Daulatrao Sindhia and Raghuji Bhonsle, with appeals to help him in his reinstatement as Peshwa, and had solicited their good offices for a speedy settlements of all disputes between himself, Daulatrao Sindhia and Yeshwantrao Holkar in order to revive the unity and strength of the Maratha empire. However, the treaty of Bassein with English on 31st December, 1803 could not be an accomplished legal reality, until it had been rectified under the Maratha confederacy-convention, by the other members of the confederacy Daulatrao Sindhia and Raghuji Bhonsle.

Peshwa Bajirao's helpless dependance on the English and his subjection to their will was brought home to him even more forcefully on his return to Poona. He sent special messangers to Sindhia and Bhonsle and Pressed them to come to Poona immediately for consultations. Daulatrao Sindhia decided, before leaving for Poona, to hold consultation with Raghuji Bhonsle, Yeshwantrao Holkar and wanted to re-unite themselves with the Peshwa(41).

According to Basawanlal, 'Yeshwantrao sent Khanderao Mane to Sindhia and Bhonsle with the following four demands :

1. Khanderao Holkar-II and his mother who were prisoners in Ashirgara were to be released.
2. All territories belonging to the Holkar family were to be restored.
3. Sindhia and Bhonsle should choose One part of the field on the day the battle against English would be fought, leaving the other parts entirely to Yeshwantrao.
4. All property which had been seized, when Yeshwantrao was confined at Nagpur should be restored.

Daulatrao Sindhia in the response to Holkar's demand agreed to settle the differences, through the mediation of Raghuji Bhonsle. In the afternoon of the 10th of July, 1803, Khanderao-II was released and the demands in which the Peshwa was involved were to be settled through the mediation of Raghuji Bhonsle(42). However, secret information reached to Lord Wellesly about the Maratha negotiations against English.

THE ENGLISH REACTION :

A meeting between Maratha rulers and the Peshwa was an extremely un-welcome for the latter's interests. The English Residents at the Sindhia and the Residents of Peshwa Darbar were quite openly pressed Sindhia not to

go, while Peshwa Bajirao was pressed to write to the former asking him to come. On 3rd June, 1803 Lord Wellesley by the English government threatened to Daulatrao Sindhia of an English invasion of his territory, if he went to Poona. However, neither Sindhia nor Bhonsle wanted war against English and both agreed to postpone their visit to Poona.

However, Lord Wellesley was waiting for the completion of the preparations for war against the Marathas. The real aim of the SECOND Maratha War was to harbouring French officers among them (43).

SECOND ANGLO-MARATHA WAR - 1803 :

On 1st August, 1803 Colonel Collins, the English Resident left the Sindhia's Darbar without giving any formal information to Sindhia and on 6th August, 1803, General Wellesley on behalf of the English, declared war against Maratha. A war against the Maratha meant a war against Sindhia and Bhonsle. The English however, feared a union of Yeshwantrao Holkar with Sindhia and Bhonsle in case war was declared against the latter by the English. All the time that Wellesley had been worrying Sindhia and Bhonsle, he had taken good care to keep on the right side of Yeshwantrao Holkar (44).

HOLKAR DESERTED FROM THE COALITION :

According to Mohansingh, 'Yeshwantrao deserted the coalition and as Sindhia neglected to accept his demands'. The primary responsibility of the break-up of the Maratha coalition rests on Daulatrao Sindhia. On the eve of the Second Angle-Maratha war, Amrutrao intercepted a letter written by Daulatrao Sindhia to the Peshwa. Amrutrao placed this letter in General Wellesly's hand and the letter had it diverted to Yeshwantrao. In that letter Sindhia wrote to the Peshwa, 'Letter make a show of satisfying his demands. After the war is over, we shall both wreak our full vengeance upon him! This letter revealed to Holkar the real motives of Sindhia (45). Still Yeshwantrao wrote to Sindhia and Bhonsle from Bhikangaon, "I am ready to join you in this business according to your letters. But inspite of all your promises and oaths you, have differant intention and do not consider an alliance with me. What will happen, next will be the result of your choice. As Yeshwantrao remained inactive, General Lake and Arthur Wellesley had little difficulty in crushing the rest. It w is unfortunate that when the fate of the nation hanged in the balance, the Marathas could not stand as one man and strike as united people in time and only just intime (46).

BRIBE OFFERED TO RAJA OF BHARATPUR :

Raja Ranjitsingh of Bharatpur was one of the Sindhia's principal tributaries. In the letter dated: 13th August 1804, written by General Lake to Marquess of Wellesley, it was stated that English had made a promise to the Raja of Bharatpur that if the latter helped the English against the Marathas, then he would be exempted additional territory as Jahagir with a Annual income of 4 lacks rupees. It is furtherstated that the Sanad,granting the Jahagir was handed over to the Raja of Bharatpur(47).

SUBORDINATION OF EUROPEAN OFFICERS IN SHINDHIA'S ARMY :

Inspite of all his success in the abovementioned intrigues Wellesley did not think that it would be an easy victory over Sindhia. So he turned to the subordination of the European officers in Sindhia's army.

Mahadji Sindhia had under the advice and persuasion of Warren Hastings, had taken many Europeans, most French into his Militry service and appointed them to high posts in his army. No mistake was ever committed by any other Indian rulers and Daulatrao Sindhia had to pay the penalty for his grant father's bluder. One of the

principal commanders in his Army was captin-Perron, a Frenchman who had under him a number of European officers occupying high and responsible posts. All of them worshipped liquor and were mercenaries. Wellesley knew it and used a proclamation promising huge rewards to the European employees of Daulatrao Sindhia if they deserted or betrayed him. The result was eminently satisfactory to Wellesley. The defection of these Europeans followed and was the severest ~~but~~ blow dealt to Daulatrao Sindhia (48).

THE SITUATION VIS-A-VIS THE MARATHA RULER :

Once a Second war against the Marathas had been decided upon the English resorted to secret intrigues for undermining the Maratha ruler's strength. The Peshwa was already a virtual prisoner of the English army in his capital and unless some Maratha rulers like Sindhia went with an army to Poona it was impossible for Bajirao-II to raise his hand against English (49).

PLAN TO CONSPIRE WITH SIKHS AGAINST DAULATRAO SINDHIA:

Sindhia's domination in the North was extended upto the Punjab. Several new Sikh principalities had sprung-up in Punjab and Lahore. Bajitsingh's son was

just rising Wellesley had reasons to fear, when the English declared war on the Marathas, power might join in the latter. He therefore tried to secure that the Sikhs did not support at least their neutrality in the contemplated war. However English defeated Sindhia, Bhonsle and forced them to accept the English's subsidiary alliance.

WEAKNESS OF DAULATRAO SINDHIA :

After Mahadji's death his successor Daulatrao Sindhia a pleasure-loving young man did not have the capacity to maintain the delicate balance and caste rivalry reared its head again with disastrous consequences of the Marathas. The officers, who had lately succeeded to the administration of the Maratha affairs in Hindustan found them in a state of very alarming disorder, the revenues grossly mismanaged or embezzled and the collections so reduced as to be very inadequate to the expenses of Govt. (50).

His rashness provoked the enmity of Mahadji's widows and the distrust among his lieutenants was glaringly revealed with the out-break of open hostility between Lakhve-Dada and Abaji Ingale. Thus Peshwa Bajirao-II

laid supine while Daulatrao with seeming uncertain, pursued the vain-dream of controlling the Peshwa's Govt. (51).

The weakness and the indolence of Sindhia's personal character, combined with his habits of levity and debauchery, ^{had} have gradually subjected him to the uncontrolled influence of his minister Serjerao Ghatge, a person of the most profligate principles and whose cruelty, violence and abandoned conduct, had rendered his odium to whatever remains of respectable amongs the chiefs attached to Sindhia. Ghatge's personal views and irregular, disorderly dispositions are adverse to the establishment of Sindhia's Govt. upon any settled basis of peace and order. Ghatge was therefore an enemy to the treaty of alliance subsisting between Daulatrao Sindhia and the company. Under the guidance of such perverser councils the interest of Daulatrao Sindhia had actually been sacrificed by Ghatge to those of Yeshwantrao Holkar and its appears by the report of the acting Resident contained in his despatch of the 9th of May, that in the absence of Sarjerao Ghatke, the functions of the administration are actually discharged by Yeshwantrao Holkar (52).

He took no pains to behave with courtesy towards the Peshwa, interfered most unwarrantably in the affairs of Holkar's blindness, proceeded to extermist with the British and wrecked the great the name of his house. His appearance in 1809 is thus described, 'He is turned of 30 about 5 Ft- 5 Inches in height, and inclined to be fat but not larely made, his complection is rather dark and his features agreeable, but his whole appearance strongly indicates a debauchee and in so doing, does not most certainly belie him. He dressed very plainly in a purple turban, and old yellow silk rob, called an Ilkhalik (53). And a faded Lilac Shawl thrown carelessly over his shoulders. He wore several strings of valuable pearls and uncut imeralds round his neck of the former, he is particularly vain and even effects to be styled moti-wala or the man of pearls' (54).

ENGLISH INFLUANCE OVER SINDHIA'S RULE :

JANKOJI SHINDHIA (1827-43)

Daulatrao, inspite of the Residents's appeals died with out adopting an heir and the right of the naming the future chief failed to his widow, Baizabai the daughter of Sarjerao Ghatke. In accordance with the wishes of Daulatrao a boy called Mugatrao belonging to another

branch of the family was adopted and succeeded as A
 ALI JAH JANKOJIRAO SINDHIA,. The ceremony of adoption
 took place on June 27, 1827. The regency was entrusted
 to Balzabai the daughter of Sarjerao, who was an ambitious
 and unscrupulous woman. She purposely kept the young chief
 uneducated and did her utmost to unfit him to hold the
 reign of power. If she had added kindness in her
 treatment to the boy in all probability her plan would have
 been successful, but she possessed an overbearing and
 ungovernable temper and soon began to behave towards him
 with insolence and cruelty. Unable to bear her thraldom,
 the young chief in October, 1832 suddenly fled to the
 Resident. The Resident then interposed and a truce was
 patched up. In December, 1832 Lord Bentinck visited Gwalior
 and both sides urged their claims. The Governor General
 however would not promise more than that Jankojirao would
 be supported by the British as a future ruler of Gwalior.
 This policy of non interference had the usual results and
 things went from bad to worse, until young chief again
 fled for protection to the Resident.

The next day, the troops broke into an open mutiny against
 Bai and she was in her turn obliged to seek refuge in the
 Resident. She was soon removed from Gwalior...

Territory and the chief granted administrative powers. The same attitude was assumed by the British Govt. which stated that, so long as peace was preserved it was immaterial who held the reins of power at Gawalior. The Bai was not idle and continued to annoy and obstruct those responsible for the administration in her way. She had a private fortune of over 3 crores which she devoted to fomenting intrigues and attempting to overthrow the Maharaja. Finding all her efforts fruitless however she finally desisted, applied for leave to return to Gawalior and lived peacefully there until her death in 1862.

Jankoji was a weak ruler and utterly unable to control his turbulent army or put an end to the ~~feuds~~ and intrigues of his court. He selected as his minister, his maternal uncle known as the Mama-sahib a man with no administrative capacity who was quite unfit for the post and as incompetent to control the constant feuds and disturbances of the court as his nephew. The wretched condition of the state 1835 and in indifference of the ruler to the sufferings of the riots are graphically depicted by Colonel Sleeman (53), who eight years later became Resident. ⁽⁵⁵⁾ Jankoji's loyalty and rectitude however, were impachable. In 1830 he gave the most active support to the

suppression of Thagi and ^{Decoits} ~~Deserty~~ and in 1838 when enjoys from Nepal arrived with disloyal propositions, he at once arrested them and in 1839 gave up to the Resident a messengers sent with similar proposition by the Afghan chief-Dost Mohammad. The Maratha Chiefs made a serious mistake in entrusting the defence of their country to foreigners. Lake, the English Officer remarked that, 'If Sindhia's army had been sincerely led by French officers, the success of the English would have been ^{extremely} ~~exterey~~ doubtful'. There were discordant elements and ignominious betrayers among the Maratha's too. Natu, Yeshwantrao Ramohandra, Yeshwantrao Ghorpade, and Daulatrao Ghorpade supplied valuable information to the British Residents. The Maratha Chiefs failed to secure the willing allegiance of their followers. The Maratha nation, as a whole, did not participate in the Anglo-Maratha wars (56).

The Maratha's lacked the co-operate spirit, so essential for their national independance. Fedual system fostered individual selfish tendencies. The Maratha chiefs also failed to protect their subjects from excesses of their own armies. The Maratha government was not influenced by the people and so the people did not take any interest in its permanence. The Maratha chiefs could not sink

their differences and unite, even in times of common danger, for the service of their ^{states} state and nation. Nationalism of the 19th Century was unknown to them (57).

The tragedy of Maratha power was inevitable result of nascent, formidable, and aggressive British imperialism. To conclude English historians about the Anglo Maratha war and its effect, P.E. Roberts said, 'After the abolishing the office of the Peshwa the rule of the restored dynasty proved an evil and incompetent one and Satara was one of the states to which subsequently the doctrine of lapse was applied by Dalhousie. For much of the incompetency, however, it may be argued the British Company, was as much responsible as the ruler himself (58).

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CHAPTER. II.

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PAWARS IN MALWA. : :

P A W A R ' S I N M A I L W A

The present Pawar family of Dhar and its two immediate branches of Dewas-Senior and Junior, were the earlier helpments, alongwith the Sindhia of Gwalior and Holkars of Indore of that valiant Peshwa, Bajirao-I, who during his short, but active career of 20 years, accomplished a rapid expansion of Maratha Power ranging from the Karnatak in the south to the environs of Delhi in the north. The Maratha national state and created by Shivaji in 17th Century underwent a complete revolution under Bajirao's leadership and reproduced a History of which the Maratha-race is justly proud to this day, and which is being avidly studied by many worthy scholars in Maharahstra and out-side.

ANCESTRY OF PAWARS :

The records of the Peshwa's Daftar at Poona and those of the Maratha state have been found invaluable as they to be published from time to time . Dhar, the ancient Dhar-Nagari has long figured as a centre of learning valour and culture and its present rulers are the legitimate descendents of the renowned, 'Paramars', who have left behind ample evidences of their rule

over Malwa. Thus the history of the Pawars possesses a peculiar interest for the Maratha-race, proud of their ancient Rajput blood coursing in their vein (1).

From a careful study of present Pawar family, it appears that Sabusing Pawar was the illustrious ancestor of this family. Under Chhatrapati Shivaji the Great and then under Chhatrapati Rajaram, Babuji Pawar (A son of Sabusing) who was the founder of Dhar-State, confirmed the title 'Saranjama of Vishwarai', was hereditary and was duly partitioned and distributed by Babuji amongst his sons and grand sons. In short the Pawars of Dhar were the first Saranjami Sardars of Chhatrapati of Satara. Individually Sambhaji, the son of Babuji had also received the personal honours of Senahpatahajari probably for the unique services in the seize of Jinji (2).

In the reign of Chhatrapati Shahu and the Peshwaship of Balaji Vishwanath too, Pawar Brothers Kalleji and Sambhaji went on a conquering expedition to Malwa and their sons succeeded in establishing the principalities of Dewas and Dhar (3). Under Chhatrapati Rajaram the ambitious plan to hit the Mughals was the conquest of

the north beyond Tapi and Harbada upto Delhi. Sambhaji Pawar's son Udaji and Anandrao, though young held ranks as Captains in Rajaram's Army accompanying the earlier despatch of troops to Malwa with Namaji Sindhia and Kanobaji Bhosle. Fortunately, when Shahu assumed powers of his ancestral kingdom and accepted the 'Imperial Services', there was the opportune time for his late Uncle Rajaram's schemes to materialise, so his trusted Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath picked-up these young men Udajirao and Anandrao Pawars with their troops, accompanied him on his march to Delhi (4). Both of them appeared to have held ranks in dual capacities that is Old Saramji-Sardars. It was welcome opportunity for these young men to work under Balaji Vishwanath and later under Bajirao-I, a General of the first magnitude (5).

The participants in the early struggle in Malwa, were the Pawars, Holkar and Sindhia, as Saramjami Sardars and Generals to be absorbed later on as confederates in the Maratha confidarcy.

POLITICAL ROLE OF PAWAR FAMILY :

Sambhaji, the father of Udaji and Anandrao Pawar consolidated his position in campaigns conducted upto the

Tap1. Udajirao Pawar in the beginning was the most influential captain of Bajirao and had simultaneously the direct access to Chhatrapati Shahu Also, which gave him the position of Vantage (6).

Grant of a Sanad to Udaji Pawar by Peshwa Bajirao-I assigning him half of the share, of all the Mokasa of Malwa and Gujrath which had been granted to him by Chhatrapati Shahu and Udaji Pawar about the collection of dues in Malwa and Gujrath. The agreement consist of 6 articles and deals with the nature of authority given to Udaji Pawar by the Marathas. Udaji Pawar is assisted by Bajji Bhivrao, but whole of responsibilities in matters of movements, treaties and agreement is is vested with Udajirao Pawar independently (7).

Grant of Two shares of Mokasa to Udaji Pawar and one share to Manaji Pawar by Chhatrapati Shahu, of the five talukas of Khandesh, for the maintenance of the army. This is a type of joint stand, issued in the name of Udaji Pawar and Manaji Pawar bearing the seals of the Peshwa and the Pratinidhi (8).

BATTLE OF DABHOI AND UDAJI'S MISCONDUCT AGAINST PESHWA:

Udaji Pawar and Tryambakrao Dabhade were secretly acting against Peshwa Bajirao, under the influence of

the Nizam's counsels and there was reason to believe that the Nizam-Ul-Mulk wanted to foster internal feuds amongst the Marathas. The Peshwa distinctly disapproved of Udaji Pawar's conduct and Malharrao Holkar energetically acted up to the wishes of his master in exterminating the evils that were due to the suspicious movements of the Pawar Chief, who had the indiscretion to assist Trymbakrao Dabhade who instigated by Nizam-Ul-Mulk, went to the length of fighting, a battle with Bajirao-I near Dabhoi on the 1st April, 1731 (9).

Bajirao tried much to gain Pawar's good-will, but Udaji Pawar was inexorable and unyielding, Malharrao Holkar was, present, when Bajirao's solicitations and entreaties disregarded by Udaji Pawar in his Sindhwa in Khandesh, where Bajirao had gone with the object of conciliating Pawar. Malharrao Holkar was highly incensed at the rude conduct of Udaji Pawar in disregarding Bajirao's wise counsels and highwrath (10).

Dabhade's defection and Udaji Pawar's dissatisfaction made matter worse. But fortunately for the Peshwa Bajirao-I, his lieutenants in Malwa, Holkar and Sindhia were capable of carrying the struggle to successful end. With disappearance of Udaji Pawar from Malwa Malharrao Holkar was

left supreme, soon after Ramuji Sindhia came to his side. Udaji Pawar, who had played a prominent part in the previous campaign in Malwa did not agree with Peshwa (11).

The position of Pawars in Malwa, declined with the withdrawal of Udaji Pawar. His brother Anandrao Pawar, who was granted a Saramjam in Malwa from the year 1732-1733 AD and he retrieved the situation by consenting to accept the terms of the Peshwa. He had however been closely associated with the affairs of Malwa since the day of his brother's active co-operation (12).

In 1733 AD the Saramjam of Anandrao-I included the districts of Malohha, Badanawar, Dharampuri, Bikaner, Savnar, Tal, Khair-bad and many others. He was granted a portion of the tributes from the year Bansawada and Dungarpur states also. The state of Dhar may be said to have been founded from the year 1733 A.D. the districts and city of Dhar were granted only in 1735 at the time of the annual renewal of grants. In June, 1736 Anandrao-I died and he was succeeded by his son Yeshwantrao-I and saramjam of his father was confirmed on him on August, 1736 (13). Yeshwantrao-I, the son proved the bravest of the brave, otherwise the most rebellious of the chaps

to deal-with. In the settlement of Malwa, he was chosen as a surety to the agreement reached at between Balaji Bajirao and Savai Jaising. In Karnatic campaign, he was granted Jari-Patka-image of Rajeshwar and the Drum (14).

KHANDERAO-I (1761-1780)

The Management of the state was entrusted to the Madhavrao Orekar. From this time the Pavar of the state began to decline. In 1774 Khanderao supported Raghoba Dada, who sent his Anandibai to seek asylum in the Dhar-fort. While living there, she gave birth to Bajirao-II, the last of the Peshwa on January 7, 1775. Dhar was immediately attached by Raghoba's opponents and as Khanderao had openly espoused his cause the Pavar territory in Malwa was resumed and only restored on the surrender of Anandibai and her child. Khanderao married a daughter of Govindrao Gaikwad by whom he had a son namely Anandrao-II born 1780, six months after his fathers death (15).

ANANDRAO-II (1780-1807)

Anandrao's boyhood was passed at his maternal grand father's palace at Baroda where he married Mainabai a niece of his grand mother and a daughter of Satavajirao

Sathe. When 17 years old, he proceeded to Dhar and though opposed by the Divan Rangrao Orekar, succeeded in establishing himself in Dhar. From the time of Anandrao's return, the state met with a series of misfortune. The disaffected Diwan sought the aid of Sindhia and Holkar against his master and for the next few years, the state was subjected to serious raids. By the forces of these two powerful neighbours. In 1803 Anandrao took part in the battle of Assaye, serving in Sindhia's army. He fled to Dhar after the defeat and open communications with Major Walker at Baroda. Much territory was lost in his day including lands in Rajputana and the district of Agar, Sunel, Badnawar, Borasai, Tal and Mandawal.

During these disturbances Anandrao died at Dhar in 1807 leaving his distracted state to the care of his widow Mainabai, who was then enceint. Mainabai was fully equal to the responsibility that developed upon her. With a view to securing herself against the intrigues of her enemies at especially those of Murarirao and illegitimate son of Yeshwantrao. She formed a party to support her interest at Dhar and then went to Mandu where she gave birth to a son Ramchandrao. On her return to Dhar, she managed by showing a bold front to keep her enemies at

bay untill she procured assistance from Baroda. On the day of the boy Ramchandrarao which occurred about this time, she adopted, with the concurrence of Holkar and Sindhia, Laxmanrao the son of her sister Thakbai Sinde. He succeeded as Ramchandrarao-II.

RAMCHANDERRAO-II (1810-1833)

The state was now reduced to the last extremity. Ramchandra Pawar died in October, 1833. He left no male issue and his widow wife Annapurnabai adopted Malharrao a son of Yeshwantrao of Malthan (Deccan), who succeeded as Yeshwantrao-II. This selection was made Anandrao of Pawar, Raja of Dewas, Junior Branch, as Yeshwantrao of Malthan was his nephew. Hence a very close relationship exists between the Raja of Dewas Junior Branch and the Raja of Dhar. He introduced a systematic survey and settlement and enforced a number of economic reforms. He left a great reputation behind for pity, generosity and love of learning (16).

MODERN STATE OF DEWAS I

Tukoji and Jiwaji Pawar, the two sons of Kalluji (the brother of Sambhaji Pawar) cousins of Anandrao-I were introduced in Malwa only in 1731, when they were to be paid 7 percent of the dues collected in the province.

They received their individual Saranjam in 1734 AD, which was renewed on August 17, 1735. The Two brothers thus jointly received the district of Dewas, Sarangpur, Bagaod, Ingod, and a portion of tributes from Banswada and Dingerpur. The grant of these districts marks the beginning of the Modern State of Dewas. Tukoji and Jiwaji the two sons at Kaloj established themselves in the two branches of Dewas i.e. Senior and Junior Dewas. This Dewas state is also called i.e. Senior Branch of Pawar State. However, the Junior Branch of Dhar and senior branch of Dewas, now set themselves to consolidating their holdings in Malwa, only during the second Phase i.e. after 1765 AD (17).

MODERN STATE OF DEWAS : (Senior and Junior Branch)

The lines descended from Tukoji and Jiwaji Pawar are respectively styled the senior and Junior Branch or Bari and Chhoti Panty.

Senior branch :

The date of Tukoji's birth is not known, but he took part in the battle of Tirla against Daya-Bahadur in 1732. He was, in return, for his service, granted a honour of carrying the Jari-Patka (A standard gold-lace) and in certain Sanadesses the title of 'Sena-hapta-Sahari' (Commander of 7000 horses) apparently

acquired at time. Tukoji took a prominent part in the events of the day and his mentioned by Bajirao-I in a letter dated: 15th May, 1740, to his brother Chimaji Appa written from Delhi. He was present in the battle fought at Bhopel against Mughal under Nizam-Ul-Mulk in 1738. Tukoji was killed in 1753 in Marwar, where he had gone with Jayappa Sindhia.

KRISHNAJIRAO-I (1753-89)

Tukoji was succeeded by Krishnaji a grant son of his brother. Krishnaji, who was adopted by Saraswatibai. Krishnaji was a minor and remained at Supa with his father's family while Saraswatibai endeavoured to manage the state from Garagaon. This agreement did not prove a success and the power of the state decreased rapidly. On reaching his majority Krishnaji tookover the administration. He accompanied Jankoji Sindhia and was present at the disastrous battle at Panipat. After the death of Peshwa Madhavrao-I in 1772 Krishnaji joined the party headed by Mahadji Sindhia, with whom he remained for 12 years in North India. Krishnaji adopted Vithalrao the son of his own younger brother Ranoji who succeeded to the chief-ship under the name of Tukejirao I. During his long absences the administration of the state was conducted by the Diwan Mahipatrao-II, the

ancestor of the present hereditary Diwan. The Chief function of the ministers in those days was to give the Parganas on Ijara or farms to Bankers who advanced money to defray the necessary heavy military charges. Thus Senior Branch of Dewar was nominal after Vithalrao Pawar.

Junior Branch :

Jiwajirao (1728-75)

Jiwajirao a founder of Junior Branch became in later years, more or less, a religious recluse, passing his time in seclusion at Mendki where the pumping stations of the present water, works is situated. He died about 1775 leaving two sons Sadashivrao and Anandrao.

SADASHIVRAO : (1775-90)

Sadashivrao succeeded his father on the Gadi. During his rule the importance of Dewas increased considerably. The population rising rapidly and the limits being extended. At the time the Kanch-Mahal (Palace) the old residence of the chiefs was abandoned in favour of the Lalvada, a new building erected by Sadashivrao.

At his death which occurred about 1790 his son Rukmangad Rao succeeded.

RUKMANGADRAO : (1790-1817)

The history of these period is one continuous record of ravage and depredation by the Peshwas, Sindhia and Holkar on the one hand and of internal strife with the local Thakurs on the other. He later taking advantage of the unsettled condition of the state, to break into upon rebellion. Deras was indeed at that time as Malcolm says, 'the support of every change'. And so desperate had the condition of affairs become that but for the timely appearance of the British on the scene at this juncture, the state would have been absorbed into to either Holkar's or Sindhia's dominions (18).

Foot Notes and References

- 1) Peshwe Daftar Vol.30 pp.24-27.
- 2) C.E.Bernes:- Representative men of central India Part-V pp.3-4.
- 3) Wakankar:- Dhar State Historical Records P.VI-VIII.
- 4) Peshwe Daftar Vol.30 pp.258.
- 5) Wakankar:- Dhar State History Records Lr.No.1,2,3.
- 6) Peshwe Daftar Vol.17 pp.65.
- 7) Dhar State Historic l Records-Vol.III pp.5.
- 8) Peshwe Daftar Vol.30 pp.258.
- 9) Bajirao's Letter to Brahmendra Swami-Dated 2nd April, 1731,referrers to the Battle of Dabhol.
- 10) Kinc id and Parasnis:- History of the Maratha people Vol.II.pp.191-192.
- 11) S.P.D.XII pp.50,54,56.
- 12) Athalye's Dhar pp.28.
- 13) Dr.Reghuvirsingh opcit.p.278-279 S.P.D.Vol.XIV pp.48 Vol.XXII pp.254-331 Vol.XXX pp.320.
- 14) Dhar State Hi torical Records Vol.III Lr.66 pp.33-38,66.
- 15) Luard:- Dhar State Gazetters Text and Tables: pp.10.
- 16) C.E.Luard:-Dhar State Gazetters pp.111-112.
- 17) Dr.Reghuvirsingh:- Malwa in Transition Vol.I,pp.291-292.
- 18) C.E.Luard; Dewas State Gazetters-Text Tables(Assisted M.N. Phadnis and D.L.Sene) (Bombay 1907) pp.4-6-;

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CHAPTER. III. : : :

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RELATIONS OF THE MARATHA PRINCELY STATES OF MALWA WITH
PESHWA'S GOVERNMENT. : : :

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE HOLKERS OF INDORE AND THE PESHWAS.

(1732 - 1818 AD.)

Of all the Maratha chiefs in Malwa, MalharRao Holkar enjoyed preferential treatment at the hands of Peshwa Baji-Rao I; inspite of the fact that Ranoji Sindhia had been associated with Holkar in the Management of the province. When Udaji Pawar withdrew from Malwa. Holkar was granted a Saranjam of 24 Parganas. A year latter on 1731, the Peshwa entrusted the affairs of Malwa to the Holkar and Sindhia and gave them se ls for the same. MalharRao's position was further strengthened on January 20, 1734; when he was honoured by the Peshwa with a grant in perpetuity to his family in his life Gautamabai (1).

In additions to some lands in the Deccan, he was also given the district of Maheshwar in Malwa and nine villages of Indore District viz. Harsol, Saver, Berloi, Diplapur, Hatod, Mahidpur, Jagoti, Karoaj, Makdom. After the formercession of Malwa to Marathas by the Mughal emperor in 1741, the Holkar state of Indore become crystalized into a political entity and come to possess and unique importance (2). The relations between ~~the~~ MalharRao Holkar of Indore and the peshwas, during the year 1732 to 1757 were very close and sympethetic; but after 1757 the rel tions between MalharRao

Holkar and Peshwa of Poona become acute. In the year 1757, MalharRao was again asked by the Peshwa Namasahab, to join the Maratha army in expedition to Hindustan; under the commandership of Raghobadada; conferring on him the title of Subhedar (3).

RaghunathRao and MalharRao defeated Nazibkhan Rohilla and captured Delhi. There were the most ~~responsible~~ ^{fair} and honour-able terms in the interests of the Marathas. But RagunathRao did not take full advantage of this proposal from Najeeb. MalharRao Holkar made his best endeavour in effecting the peace and tried to make RaghunathRao and Gaziuddin liberal towards Najeeb. Before this, Najeebkhan Rohilla himself came to the camp of MalharRao on 3rd September 1757, where he was welcomed (4).

Najeeb agreed to accept, whatever terms; MalharRao proposed with the efforts of MalharRao the treaty came into force, on september 6th, 1757, ~~the~~ Najeebkhan Rohilla ^{left} ~~left~~ Delhi and went to his own territory. The maratha power at Delhi was established completely. MalharRao was honoured with the "Khillat" by the Emperor; and empowered to make the appointments as he desired. Gaziuddin; Ahmad-Shah and Bangash were appointed as the vazir and MirBakshi respectively (5).

Malhar-Rao Holkar was the mediator between ReghunathRao and Najeeb for the settlement of peace terms. For this role, he was accused that he unduly favoured mischievous Najeeb and saved him from confinement. G.S.Sardesai impeches MalharRao on a charge of " taking large bribes from Najeeb to save him "(6).

It is said that RaghunathRao was so much impressed by Holkar that he ignored the advice of other generals. But this does not seem to be true. On the contrary RaghunathRao deplored the acts of MalharRao during the conversation with other sardars(7). MalharRao at the time of this campaign, had reached an advanced age and was the senior most General in the Maratha army. Besides as a senior and experienced general, MalharRao thought it right to make Najeebkhan as friend of the Marathas and utilise his services to strengthen the Marathas holdover Delhi and surrounding regions. He knew it well through his long experiences. That Deccan soldiers in a form of big army could not stay at Delhi and Punjab for long r period to face the invaders. Hence, it was better to be friendly ~~xxx~~ with the local principalities; like Najeeb and obtain a free hand to solve other problems of the Maratha confederacy. Najeeb's terms were resonable. MalharRao believed his words like a solider and pleaded his case to RaghunathRao(8).

It was RaghunathRao who advanced into Doab and then in Punjab without proper calculations of the future course of events. His occupation with Punjab was not a wise action(9).

It invited fresh troubles, by making Najeeb as a strong enemy of the Marathas. Najeeb also became very much annoyed, when his territory in Doab was devastated by the Marathas. He lost all faith in the marathas and invited, Abdali Again. RaghunathRao ignored the valuable advice of MalharRao to adopt the policy of "Live and let Live", in Doab and keep Najeeb in hands instead, he attacked Punjab and boasted that "the Maratha Kingdom has reached upto Attack". This was futile claim because soon after his return to Poona, Najeeb again became powerful and Abdali attacked India once again. RaghunathRao's long pre-occupation in the North, brought to the Maratha state nothing except heavy debt of 80 Lakhs against the Peshwa (10).

In fact, RaghunathRao out of vanity and jealousy did not bring any advantage to the Marathas. His slow mobilisation to Delhi, indiscriminate plunder and interference in Punjab and restraint of conquered territory without a senior Maratha General; were to some extent responsible for the disaster at Panipat. For all this the peshwa was in no way less responsible. "The provocatively advanced frontier,

Which he sanctioned, required a large well equipped force to be kept constantly, on the spot to defend it and yet the Peshwa, as the supreme authority did not realize that suzerainty involves such a responsibility(11).

No Maratha Soldier could stand the winter of Lahor and no first rate Maratha chieftain was regularly posted as Warden of north western marches, no, not even a secondary general like Holkar or Sindhia (12).

Though some Maratha Historians like Itihasacharya V.K. Rajwade(13), and some have doubted the attachment of MalharRao Holkar to the Peshwa from solitary statements, as well as from a misunderstanding about his conduct at the battle of panipat 1761. We have the strongest proof that he was as loyal to the peshwa as any other of the great Sardars, who rose to position and power in the Eighteenth Century under the auspices and in the service of the great BajiRao I.

He was an orthodox Hindu warrior of the old type and this is the best and the briefest description of his general character. In this position, first we have to observe the criticism, about the MalharRao Holkar's role in the battle

of Panipat and how the criticism are null and void; according to the original documents viz Peshwa Daftar, Kashi Raj Bakhar, Vinchurkar's letter, Shewalkar's Panipat, Sardesai's panipat prakran.

The great Maratha Historians G.S.Sardesai is of the opinion that the Mughal courtious invited Nadirshah to supress the Maratha power with his assistants. He writes, "These nobles all severelly dested the Maratha and possibly ⁿconveved the idea of putting them down with the welcome did of Nadirsha, when he would arrive. There was a wide spread belief that implacable invedar undertook; the invesion with the main object of saving mughal power from the agreessive Maratha(14).

Nadirshah's invesion gave suprise and alarm to peshwa, occupying Delhi permanently and setting himself up as the sovereign of India; a place of the Mughal Emperors. This would mean that the end of the Maratha dream of establishing their rule, all over India. There was a rumour that on the departure of Nadirshah, the only wreack of Mughal Empire would remain, the maratha, might establish a Hindu ^{monarchy.} ~~monarchy~~ ^{at} the imperial capital(15).

The accounts of Ahamad Shah Abdali's shirmishes, with the

policy advanced guard of the Marathas at the battle of Panipat and Shukratul need not be given here in detail. Jayappa and Dattaji Sindhia had been killed and MalharRao retired towards south. MalharRao Holkar suffered a defeat at the hands of Afghan near Sikandra. Dattaji died accidentally while fighting the Afghan.

Itihasacharya Rajwade criticised MalharRao's conduct, he said that, "Dattaji Sindhia soon perceived the calamity that was ready to overtake him and sent urgent letters to Holkar to come without delay to help him. Holkar was very late in going to the relief of Sindhia. Mr. Rajwade has severely commented on MalharRao Holkar's suspicious conduct in remaining in the Jaipur territory at that critical time. He further said that Holkar was responsible for Dattaji's death and ultimate defeat of the Marathas in the battle of Panipat (16).

Mr. V. K. Rajwade has severely criticised Holkar's conduct in saving Najib-Khan. Najeebkhan beseeched MalharRao to consider him "as a son" and deliver him from Panipat danger (17). He further said that "Had Najibkhan's power been annihilated, the Mughal combination against the Maratha would certainly have been destroyed and the disaster of Panipat would have been averted. It is well known that Najibkhan was the central figure in the whole plot and the most active member of the conspiracy; whom the crafty Rohilla drew into a net of over

whelming the difficulties. Najeeb did not stop his evil plans till the last"(18).

We have observed that Mr.V.K.Rajwade's observation are rather too strong and harsh. However effort of judgement is one thing and error of intension is quite another. Although there was some hue and cry against MalharRao Holkar, after the panipat disaster 1761; yet it would be groundless to say that the Marathas lost at panipat owing to any failure of the duty on the part of MalharRao Holkar, who as reading carried out Bhau Saheb's orders as any other sardars or ^{followers} ~~thievers~~ of the Peshwa (19). Sardesai levels a charge on MalharRao Holkar that "he deliberately delayed himself in Rajputana with trifal matters and acted criminally, who did not running to save the situation (20).

After a careful study of the contemporary letters; it seems that this charge on MalharRao Holkar does not carry much ~~right~~ weight. (~~MalharRao Holkar does not carry much weight.~~) MalharRao Holkar was ordered by the peshwa in the July 1759; to realise the tribute from Rajputana; especially from the Rana of Mewar (21). He first tried to realize a big sum of twenty one lakhs from the ruler of Jaipur who was very powerful in those days. He practically crushed the Rajputs at the battle of lakheri in November 1759 and then siesed the fort of Barwada and again defeated the Rajputs. When he was settling the terms with one chiefs of different principalities;

one letters of Dattaji was received on 27th December 1759. He immediately left on negotiations with Rajputs and started for Delhi on 3rd January 1760. On 12th January; he had reached Rewari(22).

MalharRao's letters to Sindhia clerly exhibits; his readiness in reaching Delhi to face the invader. He wrote "I have received your letter (Containing the news that Abdali's general Jahan Khan and Shapas^d and Khan have crossed the satlaj and even Jamuna near Kunjpura) you have asked me to leave aside the affair here and reach you earliest. Now, as such. I have started yesterday leaving the artillery behind. The affair of this province(Rajasthan) may be delt later on. I shall not waste however a moment here, and reach you by the forced marches, to supress the invaders(23). This letter is dated January 3, 1760. This is clear that MalharRao left the affair of Rajputana immediately after the receipt of Dattaji's letter.

Another letter from MalharRao to the peshwa clears the position. According to this letter, "MalharRao felt it necessary to supress the Rajputs and keep the Jats in hand. When he was doing this; he received a letter from Jankoji, asking him to come to supress the power of Abdali. He reported to the letter and started immediately. When he was on the way, he received the IInd letter from Jankoji Sindhia asking him not to make any haste as sindia's army were successfully facing the enemy(24). When MalharRao was

conducting the negotiations with Rajputs, he received the third and last letter from Sindhia on 28th Dec. 1759. He then immediately left the affairs incomplete and started for the help of Sindhia (25).

Starting on 3rd January 1761; it was not possible for MalharRao to reach before the battle of Bararighat. Thus MalharRao is not responsible for the loss of Bararighat, But Dattaji's over confidence and his wrong calculations of the strength of the enemy brought his unfortunate death (26). MalharRao's letters, mentioned above ^{cleared} ~~show~~ his earnest desire to help Dattaji Sindhia. He joined Jankoji on 15th January 1760 near Kotput (26).

The selection of Bhau as the leader of the Maratha to the north expedition was not a wise step. He was not conversant with the political and geographical condition. For all these he had to depend on the two Maratha generals i.e. MalharRao Holkar and Govind Ballal, who possessed vast experience and knowledge of Hindustan (27). But unfortunately, Bhau before his meeting with MalharRao began to ignore MalharRao's position in the north. MalharRao had advised Bhau to camp in Malwa and despatch light troops to Delhi (28).

Bhau did not agree to this proposal. Further he was advised to make a half camp at Gwalior that too went unheeded. The policy of MalharRao was approved by

other experienced Chiefs also. Vithal Shivdeo advised similarly to leave the women and children at a safer place. But Bhau argued that Holkar and Sindhia have enjoyed the comforts and advantages of the north in the past. Now the opportunity should be given to others(29).

Moreover, Holkar joined Bhau in June 1760 near Dholpur, persuaded Surajmal as a friendly ally. Surajmal met Bhau at the end of June. Infact Surajmal was also a prudent and experience ruler of the north. He advised Bhau. to leave the families of chiefs and soldiers and the heavy artillery to some safer place. He offered his forts like Dig. Kubher, and Bharatpur for this purposes. The Jat ruler said "In this arrangement you will have the advantage of a free communication with a friendly countries"(30).

MalharRao supported this policy, but haughty Bhau, did not agree to this and insulted surajmal on several occasions. As Sir J.N.Sarkar had observed that Surajmal was repeatedly insulted and called a petty Jamindar by Bhau. Being disgusted with this behaviour of the Maratha leader; Surajmal ultimately left the camp of Bhau and retired to Bharatpur(31). The last advice given by MalharRao, after the success at Kunjapura; was to return upto Delhi as a safermeasure for the communications. But Bhau did not agree to this and MalharRao was insulted by

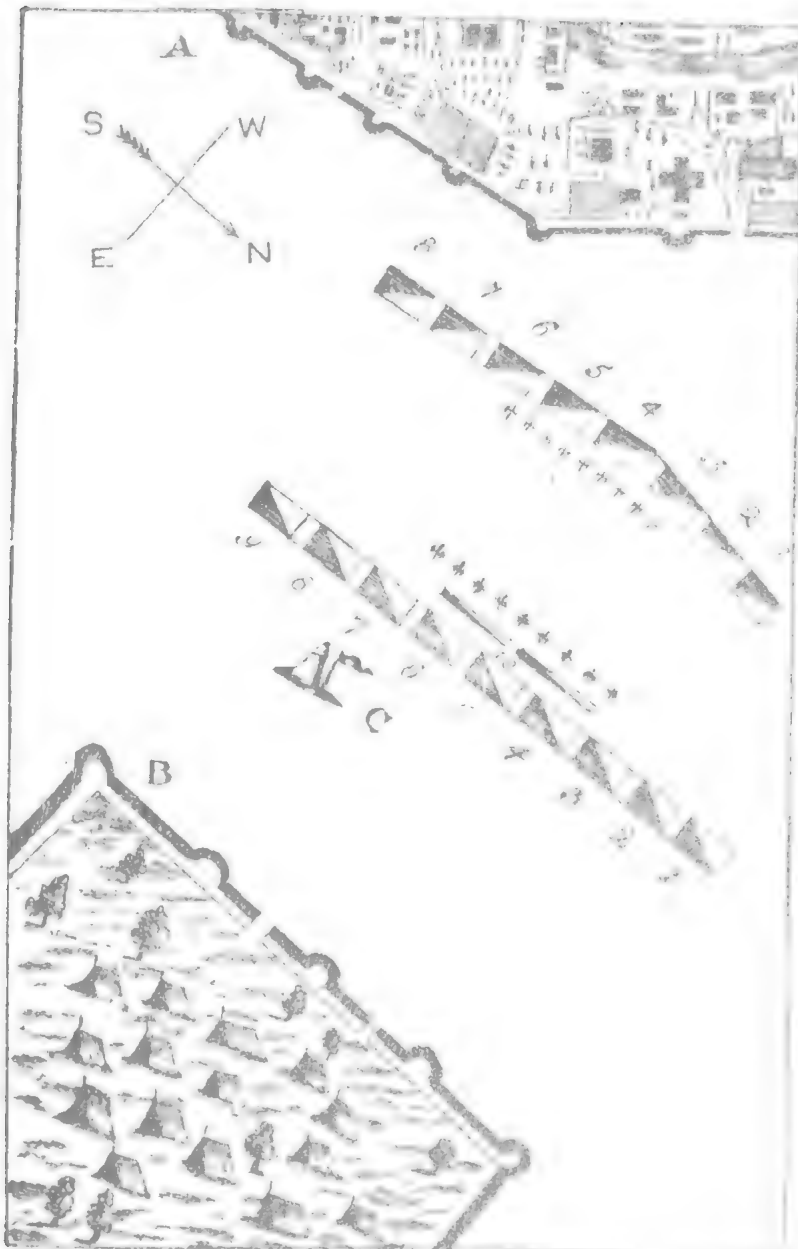


(Adapted from late. President of Afghanistan
also Abide from Kashmir; Battle of Panipat)

BalwantRao a person close to Bhau(32). MalharRao though, was repeatedly insulted in his old age, fought with sincerity before the actual battle of panipat in several Skirmishes.

Before the day of disaster 14th June 1761, the events on the battle field; a made Bhau's position worse, MalharRao had a foresight about the coming disaster of 14th January 1761 and had suggested his plans. But all these plans and advices, went unheeded and he found himself ignored by the junior and less experienced persons of the marathas. Like a disciplined soldier, he obeyed the orders of Bhau and placed his contingent on the right wing of the maratha frong on 14th January 1761. MalharRao wanted to keep himself aloof from the impending disaster, but that did not mean that he had become disloyal to his master Sir J.N.Sarkar made it amply clear that "MalharRao made a planned refreat, because the maximum number of Survivours were from his Contingent"(33). MalharRao Holkar was a brave soldier frank and free certainly, he had not the slightest idea that Nazibkhan would behave so treacherously and faifthlessly, after taking so many solemnnoaths, about his attachment to Holkar. Every one must be judged according to the times in which he lives. For Indian of the 18th Century, Violation of a solemnnoath was considered, "a sin by the Hindus as well as Mohanedans"(34). Mr.Sardesai himself had admitted that

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF PANIPUT.



From the *Oxford History of India*.

"Holkar played his part well in the campaign, inspite of doubtful conduct in saving the faithless Najeebkhan. After the disastrous result at Shukratal even Bhausaheb spoke in high term about Holkar"(35).

Secondly MalharRao Holkar's views about Gurrila warfare was not agreeable to Bhausaheb and his advisers. He asked Bhausaheb to remain in Malwa or near Gwalior and to send the reinforcement to the sardars, who were engaged in opposing Abdali's force, Bhausaheb however perished in his plan of advancing with expedition, disregarding Holkar's letter. Holkar was lighted secretly by Bhausaheb and Mehendale in terms, which almost, bordered on an insult. But MalharRao quietly put up with it, as Bhausaheb was a powerful man, strongly supported by Sindhia and other sardars at Holkar's opposition and protested; would have been of no use.

Holkar therefore obeyed the orders given to him, but did nothing on his own accord. The result was that MalharRao Holkar was not of much use in the Panipat campaign (36).

The old Gurilla warfare advocated by MalharRao Holkar was neglected during the panipat expedition of which he had life long experience (37).

The great Maratha Historian T.S.Shejwalkar strongly opposed the criticism of V.K.Rajwade, He is of opinion that

"MalharRao was a realist, unlike other Marathas. He thought that maratha had crossed the boundary of Maharashtra with the selfish motive; and not for benevolence. This statement can be supported with valuable original documents. In his opinion it was not the matter of disgrace, if one had to retreat, on any occasion(38).

Thus it will be seen that Holkar deserved the improper criticism to which they are subjected occasionally by some historians without weighing the reasons from the both sides. Mr. V. S. Sardesai said that, "All Maratha soldiers and non combatants fought in the case of India for the Indians"(39). In my view with the original sources that, "SadhashivRao Bhau fought at the battle of panipat till the last drop of his blood. Those who fled from the battle field could escape just because, Bhau gave a brave fight. Evidently Bhau breathed his last just in order to save his lives of MalharRao Holkar, Damaji Gaikwad, Mahadaji Sindhia, Nana Fadnis, Vithal Shivdeo and others, who could defend Maratha Kingdom in future. Hindustan is benefited even due to the battle of panipat; though Marathas lost the battle. None should forget that the existing Hindu Bharat has survived on the expense which was prouded by the Marathas".

In short MalharRao Holkar was every inch a wrothy warrior of that time honoured school of which the illustrious Shivaji and the heroic Bajirao-I, were at once the noblest and the candour of a warrior and the goodness of a person with strong faith in the Almighty god. MalharRao was the most distinguished character in advacing the Maratha conquests. The peshwa MadharRao-I keenly felt the situation arising out of the sad death of MalharRao Holkar, at a time; when the affairs in Hindustan generally and especially at Delhi were in need of trained and experinced military leaders, indeed great loss to the Maratha Government ⁴⁰ (~~26~~).

PESHWE MADHAVRAO I AND MAIHARRAO HOLKAR'S ENCOUNTER WITH POONA DURBAR :-

The Maratha's disaster at the IIIrd battle of panipat was very rudest shock in Malwa. Maratha's lost in men, material and prestige by the loss of about half a lakh of men in action. The Mar tha army was gre tly reduced. Its power was belighted and its hagemony was swept away like a sand dunes in the desert during the summer ⁽⁴¹⁾ (~~27~~).

Every where the dispossessed or humbled original chieftains and even petty land lords raised their heads and talked of shutting the southern invedors out of their country. For full

three months or more; the position of the Marathas in Malwa was very critical. The chandrawats captured Rampura, the Bhopal Nabab occupied Bhilsa and Abhaysingh Rathor; an officer or Maharaja of Kota, raised standard of revolt in Malwa parganas of the Kota state. The survivors were yet terror-stricken; leaderless and disorganised, the Government, had become bankrupt. The Rajput rulers had decided not to participate in the battle, but to sit on the fence. In fact their sympathies were with Abadali. This attitude of Rajputs princes, though unpatriotic was quite natural because by their continuous plundering raids, the Marathas had completely alienated the sympathies of the Rajputs. It was really an excellent opportunity for the Rajputs, but no unity among them was possible, nor did their rise any great leader among them; who could take advantage of the situation (42) (25).

Thereafter under the direction of the new Peshwa - Madhav Rao; Malhar Rao Holkar and Mahadji Sindhia tried to revive the Maratha power in the North. But Malhar Rao Holkar, the only senior notable survivor, now in the supreme control of the Malwa affairs; successfully retrieved the situation, as there was no great leader among the countless separate caste and tribal chiefs in

Malwa, to unite them and win their freedom from the Maratha dominion(43). ^{MalharRao's} His indefatigable energy turned the table against all enemies of the Maratha rule. On his return from Panipat, he recouped himself at Gawalior for some time, gathered together the Bhau's army and then went to Indore.

He decided to putting down the revolts of the Rajputs and the other tribes. He advanced to ^{Gagurni} Gagurni, where Abhaysingh Rathor, one of the officer's of the Maharaja of Kota, had ousted the Maratha Officers. MalharRao Holkar besieged the Gagurni for fiteen to twenty days, soon after the fort was taken June 1761. The immediate result of this success was, to restore the prestige of the Marathas in the North West Malwa. Thus the Maratha inadvertently helped the rise and strengthening of a new factor in Malwa, which was later to prove a source of real danger to their dominion over the provinces(44).

AHILYABAI AND PESHWA :

After MalharRao's death, Ahilyabai, did much to check the rapid decay, taking place in the house of Holkar's by Paching up the socalled differences with subhedar Tukoji Holkar. She also reorganised the administration particularly, its financial aspects. Her sentiments and behaviour towards the Peshwa were of intance devotion and affection as reveled from "letters from the Maheshwar Durbar". In letter No.32 from Maheswar darbar collection Ahilyabai has been praised in the words "she had been the combination career of Peshwa BajiRao I,

Peshwa Balaji BajiRao, Peshwa MadhavRao, Peshwa NarayanRao and Savai MadhavRao and had a keen memory of their regards which they all entertained for Holkar family(45).

For the Peshwa MalharRao I and Ramabai, Ahilyabai had naturally very great reverence and affectionate feelings of gratitude as the heroic peshwa and virtuous wife, were ardent supporters of Ahilyabai. MadhavRao I succeeded NarayanRao in 1774 and it was during this peshwa's regime that political events of the utmost importance took place and added to the glory of the Maratha Empire(46). Ahilyabai was on the side of this peshwa and quite oppose to the wicked Raghoba, the bene of the Maratha empire and his party. About Savai MadhavRao and the success of his rule; Ahilyabai has expressed her good will and joyful satisfaction more than once and this too, she had done in such a greatful and enthusistic way as entitled her expression to an ablding place in history(47).

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN YESHWANTRAO HOLKAR AND PESHWA :

After the death of Tukoji Holkar, Peshwa BajiRao II; in supporting KashiRao, the eldest son of TukojiRao, who was

imbecile, the Peshwa. Sindhia party had an opportunity of acquiring some territories of Holkar, which was very near to his border. The Holkar brothers were at that time at Poona. In the early morning of September 14, 1797, Sindhia made a sudden attack on MalharRao II's camp and killed. Kashi-Rao now became chief of the

Holkar family with Sindhia's support. He sacrificed the interest of his safe to Sindhia's power and authority in such a way, which may compared to "death to die" to Holkar family and state (⁴⁸~~21~~).

YeshwantRao and Vithaji Holkar started activities to take revenge against the wrong policy of peshwa and Sindhia. YeshwantRao started plundering activities in the peshwa's and sindhia's territories. He got hold of the large treasure of Ahilyabai preserved at Maheshwar (⁴⁹~~36~~). He opened war against KashiRao and declared KandeRao (the late MalharRao's son) as the rightful heir to the Holkar family. Ultimately many soldiers of the Holkar regime came under his patronage (⁵⁰~~36~~). Vithoji on the other hand, declared AmritRao as the Peshwa or the ruler of the region Kolhapur and proclaimed ^{me} as an agent of AmritRao. He plundered

Pandharpur region mercilessly. Peshwa Bajirao became alarmed and had sent a force of 20,000 under Balaji Kunjar and Bapu Gokhale. Vithoji was defeated and first fortuned, beaten with cane and then trampled to death by an elephant(51).

This incident took place on April 16, 1801; Bajirao now began to feel acutely, his reducing influence at the people of Maharashtra; now extended their sympathy to YeshwantRao and his family and held a contempt for the peshwa. It would be no exaggeration to say that the people became annoyed and fatigued with the peshwa and Sindhia. Khare described it as "a heinous act" (52) Bajirao's action can not be justified in any way. The peshwa's sardars like DaulatRao Sindhia and his territories previously, they were not punished at all.

YeshwantRao though annoyed, did not express, his anger openly. On the other hand he immediately wrote a letter seeking the Peshwa's forgiveness and offering him faithful service. The Peshwa, for the first time as peshwa of the Maratha confederacy, exerted his authority. He issued an order for the confiscation of Sindhia's and Holkar's saranjam lands. However, this was a show only. He immediately issued an order of withdrawal (53).

The Peshwa took another hasty action. He confiscated the whole estate of the Holkars (54). This infuriated YeshwantRao beyond measure. He ordered his captains to ravage the Peshwa's territory in the Krishana region. YeshwantRao's successive victory had brought a good sense to him the Peshwa. He sent emissaries to YeshwantRao to talk on his behalf. But he urged that he was willing to talk of either Baloji-Kujjar or Nimbaji Bhaskar was depatched to him. Here also the peshwa showed his disability. The Peshwa forces were completely overhrown. The defeat of the Peshwa created surprise and confusion at Poona (55).

Most of the Marathi historians as well as malcolm criticised that, "YeshwantRao Holkar was responsible for indiscriminately killing and looting the RR Poona People"(56). But this charge also is not substantial by contemporary records. One can understand that for the last time YeshwantRao ~~may~~ appealed to the Peshwa for the mutual settlement, but the Peshwa however, displayed no mood to settle the dispute &. On October 25, both sides prepared for war. YeshwantRao sent word that, "The would wait for two hours and then he would begin his action. About 8 o'clock, Sindhia's men attacked by cannon. YeshwantRao restrained his men until twenty five cannon-balls

were fired. At 11⁰ clock he charged the artillery of Sindhia and the whole of Sindhia's artillery and baggage fell into the hands of YeshwantRao (57).

Immediately on receipt of the news of Sindhia's defeat, the peshwa proceeded to the parvati hill. The peshwa now began to spend most of his time near the British outpost. On october 30, 1802, he wrote a letter to the Bombay Governor, seeking British alliance(58). Taking advantage of his weakness, the " great Jagirdars" of his dom^minion, withheld their payment of revenues to his treasury(59). On december 31, 1802 peshwa ultimately signed the treaty of Bassein.

Among the Maratha chiefs: it was YeshwantRao who realized the full implications of the peshwa's signature of the treaty of Bassein. He gave vent to his feeling in the following words, " Bajirao has destroyed the Maratha power. He has taken money from the English and given them territory. In due time they will seize the whole territory, as they have done to Mysore " (60).

YeshwantRao made a last appeal to Peshwa for peaceful settlement of the dispute. Even after his occupation of poona, he tried his best to persuade the peshwa to return

his capital. Bajirao was a man of "Mean nature" who relied mostly on his wicked counsellors like Balaji Kunjar, Daulatrao Sindhiya and others.

YeshwantRao was not less patriotic than DaulatRao sindhiya and Raghuji Bhonsle, since his occupation of Poona he made systematic efforts to fight for "Swarajya and Swadharma"(61) (Hindu Religion) YeshwantRao clearly demonstrated the challenge against English. His views with English was that "Although unable to oppose the British Artillery in the field countries of many hundred coss should be overrun and plundered and burnt that he would not have leisure to breathe for a moment and that cam ties would fall on lakhs of humanbeings by the overwhelm like the waves of the sea" (62).

Rajitsingh, the Raja of Bharatpur, openly espoused the cause of YeshwantRao Holkar. The Jats were a martial race and resolved to defend their liberty. They welcomed YeshwantRao, as a saviour of India and provided him with money and food(63) In the meantime mean-time the defection of Sindhiya and the Raja of Bharatpur did not dishearten YeshwantRao; who made another serious attempt in Punjab to form another anti-British by an co-lliation. But when he failed to unite the India princes , in a " despondent tone", he

wrote to Bharmal Holkar that, "every Indian leader was trying to save his own skin" (⁶⁴20). At last in December 1805, he sent his agents like Sheikh Habibullah and Balram Seth to the camp of Malcolm to convey to him the most sincere desire on his part to conclude a treaty with the British Government.

Thus the malady of internal self interest and mutual struggle among the Maratha chiefs hastened the progress of British intervention in Maratha Politics.

RELATION OF SINDHIA WITH THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY OF THE MARATHA CONFEDERACY :-

Ranoji Sindhia owed his rise to the favour of Balaji Vishwanath and his successor Bajirao and not to the Chhatrapati. Hence from the start; they were the lieutenants and subordinates of the peshwa and not of the Chhatrapati (⁶⁵21).

Two letters of Ranoji Sindhia to Mahadeo Bhatt Hingne dated 30th June 1734, and the 14th July 1734; showed that Sindhia was empowered by the Peshwa to extract the sanad of sardeshmukhi; the grant of Malwa and the money for military

expedition from the Delhi Court. By this time the Maratha made Gawalior their last outpost in the North to keep an eye on the Doab, Rohilkhand, Agra, Delhi and Rajputana (⁶⁶52).

MAHADAJI SINDHIA AND POONA DARBAR :-

The life of Mahadaji Sindhia was one long period of strenuous activity directed towards the expansion of Maratha empire and Sindhia family. The keen rivalry for the Power between Mahadaji Sindhia and Poona Darbar forms one of the most instructive and controversial episodes of the declining period of the Maratha Power. Mahadaji's real and precise nature remains unestablished due to a passionate and biased advocacy of one or the other by some of the modern Historians of the period.

Mahadaji Sindhia was ultimately acknowledged^{as} the sole successor to the Sindhia's herotage. Hence even after being made the successor of Sindhia family, he immediately followed up a further effective measures to consolidate and to expand the Maratha rule in the North (⁶⁷33). The situation was most critical for the Marathas; in the years following, Panipat 1761. Every where they were pushed to the well; without a single friend or dependent in the Doab; Bundelkhand or

Rajputana. A Maratha agent in Rajputana Maihar-Tukdeo; reported to the peshwa in May 1761. " All Rajas and Rajwadas have turned against us " (68) Peshwa assign the headship of sindhia fief to Mahadaji Sindhia, finalise the distribution of the Saramjam and the jagir of the Maratha Sardars on the 18th January 1766(69). He took service under Maripant Fadke, after the treaty of Purander is a fine example of the fearless character of Mahadaji " I am faithful to my duty and loyal to my master. Nothing can deviate me from this path. I can serve a master; who can uphold and sustain my demeanour" (70).

Mahadaji was thoroughly antagonised by Raghunath Rao, who had opposed his succession to the family fief. The relation aggravated due to cavalier and disobedient attitude of Mahadaji. A news letter of December 1765, narrates the causes of Raghoba's displeasure (71). Mahadaji avoided coming to meet Raghoba on the bank of Narmada; refused to pay 5 Lakhs to Naro-Shankar and did not follow the agreement concluded with the Peshwa. Incensed Raghoba ordered Khanderao Ballal to confiscate his Jagir. However the confiscation was stayed by the interference of Maihar Rao Vishnu Mahadeo and Sadahas iv Gangadhar(72).

The letters No.122,124, and 127 of the selected of Peshwa.

Daftar; Vol.29. Mahadaji was not responsible for the charges leveled against him. Mahadaji established his reputation as a far sighted brave General, but a stubborn and wily chieftain of- the Maratha Mandal.

Even after being made the deputy regent of the Mughal Empire in 1784, Mahadaji found the Vital line of communication to Ujjain and southwards threatened due to the intransigency of Raja Balwantsingh of Raghogarh (⁷³~~50~~). The expeditionary force sent against him ultimately made the members of his family captive and confined them in different force. All his property was confiscated and thus an attempt was m^d_nde to e-xtinguish this old Rajput state, but the re-doubtable forces could not possibly be thus crushed Mahadaji Sindhia. The fateful battle of Lalsot (27th July 1787) had serious repercussions throughout Malwa; and there were series of rising all over the province and Mahadaji Sindhia had to send out forces to put them down (⁷⁴~~50~~). Thus after seizing the state from the Guerillas, Mahadaji wisely made up with Raja Balwantsingh by restoring his territories to him on the promise of paying tribute. This policy of pacification coupled with the armed force proved effective (⁷⁵~~51~~).

The military might of Mahadaji Sindhia increased due to the

De Boilegne's trained battalions ^{and} ~~and~~ it ensured the continuance of semblance of peace in Malwa for some years till 1795 AD., which marks the great epoch in Malwa. Due to the Maratha's increasing military force, the Maratha hold on Malwa continued to increase inspite of local uprising and serious discontent throughout the region against Maratha dominion. During the all these days, Mahadaji had perceived the danger of the maratha empire from the English quarters. In his final French struggle in India, English Historian Malleson remarks that "It must never be lost sight of that the great dream of Mahadaji Sindhia's life was to unite all the native Powers of India in a great confederacy against the English. In this respect he was the most of far-sighted statesman that India had ever produced it was a grand idea capable of realisation by Mahadaji alone and which but for his death would have been realised"(62).

The death of Mahadaji Sindhia was an event ^{of} ~~of~~ great political importance. He was ^{the} ~~a~~ greatest statesman of his age; as he was its greatest military leader. He proved his worth as General in the first Maratha war(1780), but he was also a man of great constructive genius. He carried to success the unfinished work of SadhashivRao Bhau.

Both in the matter of expansion and prestige of the maratha empire and the Europeanisation of the maratha army. He was the first man in spite of the seemingly disastrous lesson of panipat to see the value as well as necessity of the quickly adopting the new system⁷⁷ (63).

He was a kind minister to his soldiers, unforgiving only to those who showed cowardice in the battle totally others, he showed equal favour; Solely according to merit and irrespective of caste and creed and colour. He gave a regular government to the people of Hindustan rescuing them from a state of darkness and bringing prosperity to a harassed country. It must always be remembered that Mahadaji being alive; the English danger never meant to weaken the confederacy ideal which he must have been convinced was the practical ideal. He was more patriotic far sighted and statesman like than his rival.

His attitude to the peshwa was one of sincere difference, while he never wanted to interfere with internal affairs of other potentates of the confederacy. When Holkar sacked, he was in position to exact a penalty, he liked for this wanton act; but he forbore from taking vindictive measures against his avowed enemy in the larger interest of the confederacy⁷⁸ (64).

However, after Mahadaji Sindhia nothing was done by the Maratha rulers; there either to organise the local administration or to mitigate the misery of the people of Malwa in the least. As a result of series of deaths among Maratha rulers i.e. Ahilyabai, Tukoji-Rao I, Mahadaji-Sindhia, AnandRao Pawar of Dhar; in Malwa; new person came to helm of affairs even this semblance of peace and order there finally ended(⁷⁹~~66~~).

DAULATRAO SINDHIA AND PESHWA BAJIRAO II :-

Daulatrao sindhia, a lad of fourteen, who had inherited control of the powerful army established by late Mahadaji-Sindhia; an opportunity to establish his control in Maratha politics. With this object in view, he supported Peshwa Bajirao II's cause. on the other hand Nana Phadnavis, the late peshwa's powerful minister, was determined to keep Bajirao out of the inheritance as he apprehended that Bajirao would destroy his influence; on becoming the Peshwa. Nana therefore began to make secret plans. He visited the Nizam's minister. Azim-ul-umrah; who was then prisoner of the Marathas. He distributed money lavishly to seduce sindhia's army and officials. But Nana's activities did not stop here. He soon opened secret negotiation with Bajirao. In the meeting; compromise was effected by which Bajirao would be the Peshwa;

and Nana would be the minister. Daulatrao Sindhia felt irritated; when he saw that this settlement was made without his knowledge (⁸⁰~~86~~).

Daultrao Sindhia immediately with a large body of horse and foot proceeded and surrounded Bajirao's tent. On April 17, 1796 he opened negotiations with him. He pleaded to exclude Nana from all affairs of the administration. Bajirao did not derive any benefit out of it. In order to get rid of Nana, he placed himself in the hands of Daulatrao Sindhia. This alliance only added trouble to the empire (⁸¹~~87~~).

With Sindhia's help, the Peshwa, wanted to destroy Nana's influence and planned to arrest him. Nana was not impervious to these danger signals. For his safety, he demanded that Peshwa should not transact any business without his consent, and Sindhia's troop should be removed from Poona. It was Nana's wish that Sindhia should go to Hindustan(⁸²~~88~~). Nana's position was further weakened, when his supporter Tukoji Holkar died in August 15, 1797.

As soon as the treaty of Bassein was signed, the Governor General called upon Daultrao Sindhia to have his consent to its terms. To these demands Sindhia gave no positive reply.

He on the other hand, complained that the peshwa at the time of concluding the treaty of Bassesin had violated the conventions of the Maratha confederacy. In the maratha empire, the peshwa was the chief. His decision was binding on the sardars; but he would have to consult Sindhia, Holkar and Bhonsle, on important matters like war or treaty. Sindhia emphasised that maratha leaders would themselves settle their disputes and needed no British intervention (⁸³83). On may 4, 1803, Sindhia left Burhanpur and began his march to meet Bhonsle; Bhonsle also moved to meet Sindhia.

Bajirao according to Malcolm, "was timid and vacillating He would honour the treaty of Bassein and would be dependent on the British power; as he had no alternative. About Sindhia and Bhonsle, Malcolm wrote that they must gave, "the most satisfactory assurance of their friendly conduct towards the British Government"(⁸⁴84).

At last on June 4; Sindhia and Bhonsle arrived at Malkapur for discussion collins also demanded a reply from Raghuji Bhonsle, who wanted time to study the treaty of Bassein. When the Maratha chiefs met again on June 8; collins gave a written threat that he decided to leave

Sindhia's Durbar(⁸⁵~~71~~). Both Sindhia and Bhonsle were busy in secret negotiations with YeshwantRao. Malcolm thought both Sindhia and Bhonsle were pursuing; delaying tactics in order to form a Coalition of the Maratha chiefs against the British. In his private letter to Shawe; he suggested that Sindhia and Bhonsle must within a few days give the "most satisfactory assurance of their friendly conduct towards the British" (⁸⁶~~72~~). In April and May 1803 hectic efforts were made to form a united front of Sindhia, Bhonsle and Holkar. But Sindhia, on the advice of his father-in-law Sharrarao, did another mischief and sabotaged plan of coalition. He wrote a letter to Peshwa Bajirao. The entire plan was a subterfuge and directed to destroy YeshwantRao(⁸⁷~~73~~). YeshwantRao's desertion from the Anglo-Maratha war, weakened the cause of Marathas.

The British plan of war worked efficiently. From two different directions they attacked Sindhia and Bhonsle on August 7, 1803. This war is generally known as the "Second Anglo Maratha War"(⁸⁸~~74~~). This name was given by the English historians in their works. But the Marathi historians; differ in their opinions. According to them, "the first Anglo Maratha war took place during the time of Savai-MadhavRao. In that war all sardars of the

Maratha-Kingdom were involved. So the name "First Anglo-Maratha" is justified. In the war of 1803, the Peshwa was not involved. All the sardars of the Deccan did not take part in it. Holkar withdrew himself from the war. Only Sindhia and Bhonsle were united. It should be called "Sindhia Bhonsle's War" against the company (⁸³75).

The foreigners in Sindhia's service left him and offered allegiance to Lord Wellesley. The European officers of the fort betrayed Sindhia and went over Wellesley (⁹⁰76). The rapid success of the British Generals in the North and the South cast a spell of gloom on the Maratha Chief. Sindhia and Bhonsle sent vakils to the camp of Arthur-Wellesley, who concluded two separate treaties. The treaty of Devgaon was concluded with Raghuji-Bhonsle on December 17, 1803; and Treaty of Anjangaon was signed on December 30, 1803 (⁹¹77).

The treaty left Daulat Rao Sindhia, with truncated dominions and reduced political influence. His territorial loss was valued more than one crore and sixty lakhs of rupees in the Hindustan and in the Deccan (78). It appears to be strange that despite the conclusion of the treaty of Suraj Anjangaon; Sindhia could not remain at ease as he felt that the treaty could not save him from the fury of Holkar. Sindhia's

supreme concern; now was to ensure protection against YeshwantRao and other enemies as well for which he evinced keen desire to form a detensive alliance with the company(⁹³~~70~~).

SINDHIA HOLKAR'S DEFEATS BETRAYING WEAKNESS OF PESHWA

BAJIRAO II AND MARATHAS :-

Concerning to Anglo Maratha wars and its effects, Maratha state papers being to lose their historical importance; as one approached the downfall of the Maratha-Raj. Their place being taken by the full and well edited British records of stateman like wellesley and Elphinstone.

While the British power was showing signs of vitality in the early years of the 19th century, the only power that could affect the destiny of the British was the Marathas. The states were ruled by the Peshwa at Poona, Sindhia at Ujjain, Holkar at Indore, Bhonsle at Nagpur, Gaikwad at Baroda. The states were members of the Maratha confederacy; a loose organisation existing in name only; with no effective control over them. Peshwa Bajirao II was the nominal head of the "confederacy" of the five Peshwas (⁹⁴~~80~~). After the defeats in Anglo Maratha wars, the Maratha states, like Indore, Ujjain, Nagpur and Baroda, remained in India not as an independent power, but as a servient clog in the wheel of British imperialism.

The second Anglo-Maratha or Sindhia-Bhonsle war, was marked by the greatest cordiality between the Peshwa and the English. Out of the revenue of 12 - Million Rupees, per annum, the Peshwa saved almost half and his treasury was now overflowing. The peshwa was profuse in expressing his gratitude to the British" for saving him from destruction and demanding nothing in return". The English seized the golden opportunity of the disordered state of Maratha Empire and preparations to make themselves permanent in India.

The chief of the Maratha Empire have been accustomed to look at a confederacy of the greater powers amount them which nothing could withstand. The very fact that Holkar single handed could later on, face the British proves that, the combined power of the Marathas would have certainly proved more than a match for the British(95).

The Maratha politics thus in 1803 was a lamentable scene of disunity distraction and chaos. Taking advantage of it, the British moved with remarkable alacrity to (96) restore the peshwa under the their initiative to break the Sindhia power, the First necessity for their point of view was to " effect such an arrangement as should preclude the union of the British states" and to isolate Sindhia; as far as possible, from the other Maratha Chief. Hence Sindia had been the greatest cause of anxiety and apprehension for the British.

Their supremacy in India could never have become a reality unless Sindhia was annihilated. Sindhia thus for them, was a key to the whole situation (97).

This was evidently the greatest betrayal by Amrit Rao of the Maratha State, even more than his action of incitement to Holkar. Because of his action he completely ruined the chances of Maratha unity and success against the British. Had he not intercepted the letters of the Maratha chiefs for the British ? Holkar might have joined Sindhia and the result of the contest very probably might have been different. For a party Jagir of 8 lakhs, he proved to be the greatest traitor of the Maratha States (98).

From the pinnacle of glory and power, Daulat Rao was hurled to the lowest depth of misery and humiliation. The "unexpected end of the War" (Second Anglo Maratha War) gave shock to the Peshwa and disappointed all his projects (99). He had placed great reliance especially on Sindian might for dislodging the British from Poona. That hope was utterly dashed to pieces (100).

RELATION BETWEEN PAWAR AND POONA DURBAR.

Dhar state was under the region of pawar family. It is now located in Madhya Pradesh. There were other states under the reign of pawar family. There are senior Dewas State and Malthankar Dewas state, out of these Dhar states was supposed to be prominent. Maratha dominion prospered in North India and in the first decade of 18th century; brave people of pawar family had a lion-share in the administration of Maratha Kingdom for fifty to sixty years. They had a significant hold in the administration of Maratha rulers.

Later-on unfortunately the family had to face many difficulties and their significance was on decline. At last at the time of rise of the British Empire, the states were in very precarious condition; and hence the name of Pawar family is not found in the history of Marathas and its sources were as the names of the other families; such as sindia and Holkar have been recorded by Historians in their scripts and it was but natural.

The importance of the work of the members of Pawar families like Senior Dewas state Dharstate, Kawathe state Malthankar Dewas were on the verge of being forgotten. Historians could easily remember the names of other families, just ~~exist~~ because the events which proved ~~their~~ their greatness, had taken place very recently, when we think of the condition of Pawar family after the battle of panipath. Some of them e.g. YeshwantRao I, KhandeRao I, YeshwantRao II, of Dhar family. HagdeoRao (Chitegaonkar) and RamchandRao I; HalbatRao I (Dewas state) did not get an opportunity to test their mettle due to their early deaths, even before attaining their youth. As such pawar family lost its importance in Maratha dominion.

Taking into consideration the early history of pawar family; the standard of their efficiency was supposed to be very high due to their valience and vigilance who can forget the greatness of the pawar family ? Very recently some original resources has been brought to light as regards Dhar. Malthan; Kawathe, Chitegaon and Dewas States. The history of pawar family has been written by some Historians upto this date; will have to be altered and rewritten due to these

Original resources. So it is essential to described the greatness of pawar families and their major role in Maratha dominion at its Zenith of glory; with the help of original documents obtained from the office of Dhar; Malthan, Chitegaon and Dewas Sates; The greatness of any person depends upon the great deeds done by pawars in the Maratha dominion will automatically wipe out the charged lodged against them. During the reign of Peshwa Bajirao I, when udajirao Pawar Malthankar supported Dabhade against the Peshwa to them battle of Dabhai, on 1st April, 1731, lateron succeeding peshwa were displaced with all the members of pawar families; though they were of pawar families, though they were efficient and brave and eventually the states were on the decline (¹⁰¹87).

GREAT DEEDS OF PAWAR SARDARS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF "HINDAVI SWARAJYA".

Pawar family was one of the reputed families in Maharashtra; before the establishment of Hindavai swarajya. During the reign of Chhtrapati Shivaji, One of the person of Pawar family sabusingh(sabail) or Shivaji Pawar and his sons, Krinaji, Babaji and Keroji had achieved greatness and honour in Maratha army (¹⁰²88). It makes the

thing clear that even the region of Chhatrapati Sambhaji these Sardars must have played a very significant role. Similarly during the region of Chhatrapati Rajaram; Buvaji and his brother Keroji fought very bravely and expanded the empire in the North upto Tapi-River and thus they were honoured with titles and received "Sarmjam" (Jagir) from Chhatrapati Rajaram.

Buvaji Pawar was honoured with the title of " Vishwas-Rai" and the Sarmjam of " Vishwas-Rai" from Chhatrapati Rajaram. Buvaji himself; his son and his descendents honourably used the title of " Vishwas-Rau. After their names and proved with the support of document that they have a right to use it. Even at present Dewaskar pawar makes the use of the said title after their names Elder-Sonof Buvaji; who was also known as a Kaluji alias Keroji and honoured with the title of " Senabarsaharrai", which exhibits his valience sardars of Dewas family have been using these two titles as their rights (103).

Buvaji 's younger son Sambhaji and grand-son UdajiRao Pawar; (Malthankar) Anandrao Pawar;(Dharkar)

and Gagdeorao (Chitegaonkar) had been divided among themselves the Saramjam of " VishwasRao. But only AnandRao and his descendents enjoy the rights of " Vishwas-Rai" and can produce the proof to prove their rights(104). Buvaji's son Kaloji and Sambhaji achieved greatness due to their bravery during the region of Chhatrapati Rajaram. Sambhaji Pawar showed his ability and skill since the of Jinji. In 1714, Sambhaji pawar had a very large cavalry at Kawathe for the protection of swarajya and it was also used for the expansion of the swarajya (105).

RISE OF UDAJIRAO PAWAR AND ABILITY DURING 1709-1730 AD.

After the coronation ceremony of Chhatrapati Shahu, during the life time of SambhajiRao Pawar his son UdajiRao Pawar rose to power. In the beginning Chhatrapati Shahu made him chief of the cavalry. UdajiRao planned to concentrate on Malwa territory in order to expand the Hindu-Pad Pathshahi. In 1709, he captured Mandav arh, which was a place of military importance and expanded Maratha dominion (106).

The Mughals used to march on Maratha dominion, particular from Gujrat and Malwa, UdajiRao established important military posts; in these two provinces in order to defend mughal attacks. When Balaji-Vishwanath became peshwa Udajirao and Anand-Rao were deputed to serve the Maratha empire (107). In 1718 peshwa Balaji-Vishwanath had to proceed to North India in order to support Sayeed, brothers. UdajiRao accompanied him and went to Delhi and observed and studied the general atmosphere of North India. Even this visit, UdajiRao had captured some military posts in Gujrat and Malwa which then were under the control of Mughals. But in 1719, there was a difference of opinion and conflict between UdajiRao Paver and Jivaji-Gaikwad at Newapur as a result Jivaji Gaikwad had to leave that military posts (108) (Newapur) When UdajiRao had to face such difficulties in Malwa and Gujrat, every now and then, Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath offered him the mokasa in december 1722 AD. which is given below;

" Gujrat and Malwa are now under our control. I hereby empower you to receive half the income of the mokasa and the remaining half will be diverted to royal treasury. The edifice of our Sarajjam entirely depends upon you and as such, we are satisfied with it " (109).

In this Mokasa, the words, " The edifice ~~sur~~ of our Saranjam entirely depends upon you " are very important. The Mokasa is signed by peshwa Bajirao himself. It shows that Peshwa Bajirao had great faith in the capacities of Udayirao Pawar it also casts lights on the honour and influence which Udayirao had, had in the administration of Maratha empire.

When Udayirao such received the Mokasa of Malwa and Gujrat, he developed his career systematically. Maratha sardar's attacked Northern Indian in December 1723, and took a decision that " The Pawars should try their best to capture as large a territory as possible in Malwa". As per the decision quoted above Udayirao captured number of military posts of great importance in Malwa and Gujrat during the years 1724 -1725 AD.(110) On behalf of and by the order of Chhatrapati Shahu, letters written to Mughal officers, which indicates the treaty signed by them. The Mughal officers were given to understand that they should not disturb Udayirao Pawar in Gujrat and Malwa, so that they might establish law and order in these provinces. These letters show the social conditions of Malwa and

Gujrat, during the period as well as political and military strategy of Marathas. The letters bring to light in the greatness achieved by UdajiRao Pawar in the politics of Malwa and Gujrat and how he was recognised as an authority in the administration of Maratha dominion (111).

The power of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi in Malwa was entrusted to UdajiRao with a special purpose; that "the public in both the provinces, should be free from the trouble and leave and peacefully and that Mughal officers should not get a chance to neglect their duties and responsibilities" (112) A ~~part~~ Part from this administration of large area of other territories, which were in the North of Gujrat and Malwa and entrusted to UdajiRao pawar and AnandRao pawar. As a result they had a very large area under their to control to prove their supremacy and efficiency.

In December, 1728, at the end of rainy season UdajiRao pawar and MalhaRao defeated Daya -Bahadur

and Girdhar Behadur in the battle of Amzera. In this battle UdajiRao, showed great bravery's which was praised^s by Chimaji-Appa in the presence of Peshwa Bajirao-I. On such an occassion Bajirao I, has purposefully recorded by UdajiRao should be given such a treatment so that he may be very much please with the way of behaviour and ~~xx~~ sweet words" (113).

CONFLECT BETWEEN BAJIRAO I AND THE BASELESS CHARGE OF BETRAYED AGAINST UDAJIRAO PAWAR AND PAWAR FAMILIES.

UdajiRao Pawar being orginally a very brace and bold personality had an ambition to complete with Peshwa Bajirao I original resources support that Chhatrapati Shahu have offerred him Mokasa(Saranjama) of Malwa. Simaltenously, the peshwa offered him another Saranjami of Gujrat. In January, ~~1729~~ 1729 when peshwa Bajirao launched an at ack on Bundelkhand; ^{Ranoji} ~~Ranoji~~ Sindhi's Malharrao Holkar UdajiRao Pawar and AnandRao Pawar accompanied him in campaign. But in the beginning of January; a conflict as regards the Mokasa of Gujrat and Malwa, cropped-up between the peshwa Bajirao and UdajiRao Pawar. UdajiRao complained against Peshwa Bajirao, ~~xxxx~~ directly to Chhatrapati Shahu. Peshwa Bajirao was ignorant of it. In April 1729, Bajorao received a letter from Chhatrapati Shahu that he (Peshwa) should

bring ~~with~~ with him UdajiRao Pawar while coming to Satara. In order to honour UdajiRao Pawar and MalharRao Holkar for their bravery in the citory of Bundelkhand, they were presented with an elephant(Hatti-Rade-Rau) and a Hansaraj respectively. In the same way, some other presents were purchased through chimaji -Appa in order to AnandRao (114).

~~Since~~ Since then, conflict between UdajiRao Pawar and Peshwa Bajirao took a serious form. UdajiRao behaved in an abnormal way, which suggested that he was considering himself to be a sardar of a very high rank which was probably not less significant than Peshwa. Some times he said " I am also a sardar in the service of Chhtrapati Shahu". As soon as the pride of UdajiRao Pawar transformed into arrogance; ~~the~~ Peshwa Bajirao tried to deprive him of the income of Mokasa; step by step, and offered it to AnandRao Pawar. As a result UdajiRao was annoyed with the way behaviour of Peshwa Bajirao(115)

Maratha Sardars received the Saramjami of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from Mughal Emperors, but the revenue of the Mokasa was never collected; even then they had to pay the whole amount to Mughal Emperor, Peshwa received Mokasa from Chhtrapati Shahu and they continued to pay a part of their share to Sindhia, Holkar and

Pawar every year. They had to borrow the amount for payment and in order to pay the debt, they had to attack the neighbouring territories. The Sahukars and merchants used to pay the amounts to Mar^dtha Sardas but recovered the said amount from the public with compound interest. One Maratha Sardar used to stand security for other Sardars and vice versa. UdajiRao Pawar and Kadam Bande were enemical to each other from the beginning; even then they stood security for one and another. Though Kadam Bande tried to give support of UdajiRao Pawar by offering him large amounts, on such occassion (116). MalharRao Holkar was also sailing in the same boat. Even then Maratha Sardas tried their best to support one another.

Chhatrapati Shahu thought that ~~the~~ the activities of Dabhade against Peshwa Bajirao were harmful to Maratha Empire; so he made number of attempts for their (Maratha sardars) reconciliation and maintenance of Unity(117). A brave and efficient sardar like UdajiRao Pawar, joined hands with the opponents of Peshwa; was an event which shocked Peshwa very much. On 1st April, 1731, in the battle of ~~Dabhade~~ Dabhai. Dabhade as well as Pawar's brothers were defeated. At the end of Battle of Dabhai Peshwa Bajirao honourably released UdajiRao Pawar by offering him his rights and prestige(118) He tried to reconcile with UdajiRao once

again. But he did not succeed in it; because of the pride of UdajiRao Pawar. MalharRao Holkar disliked obstinacy of UdajiRao Pawar. He said "He does not comply with repeated request. What though, he does not agree with us a mere cultivator? Every has to face the difficulties in accordance with his own luck". With these words MalharRao Holkar accompanied Peshwa BajiRao and joined his group" (¹¹⁹~~119~~).

SELF RESPECT OF UDAJIRAO AND THE DECLINE OF PAWAR'S STATES.

UdajiRao's younger brother AnandRao I joined Peshwa BajiRao; through MalharRao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia. This events makes the thing clear that the way of behaviour of UdajiRao was not liked or appreciated by AnandRao I. AnandRao felt that his own act of joining hands with opponens, was not good. He told UdajiRao that "He should not be cross with the Peshwa". But this usggestion was ingored by UdajiRao. Later on AnandRao openly accepted Sardari; offered by Peshwa BajiRao I. AnandRao must have been giving counsel to UdajiRao that he should imporve his behaviour thenceforth. AnandRao became Sardar on 15th of December 1731; as per ~~e~~ recommended by MalharRao Holkar (¹²⁰~~119~~).

The events given above show that Peshwa Bajirao I, wanted to see co-operation of Udayirao Pawar for the expansion of Hindavi Swarjya. The Peshwa had a great love, honour and respect for the great sardar like Udayirao. But Udayirao thought "I have been taking efforts to bring different territories under the control of Maratha Empire for number of years, and I have succeeded in expanding Maratha Empire to a great extent. Even then; why should I would not get a part of it independently under my control?" (¹²¹ ~~109~~). The thoughts of Udayirao were not far from truth. But the administrative setup laid down by Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath was as such that it was impossible for anybody to satisfy Udayirao Pawar. Udayirao ^{lived} ~~went~~ quietly to Malhar and ignored the current politics and administration. The chitnis of Udayirao advised him, "You have committed a blunder; Peshwa Bajirao has regretted your decision and you are at a great loss" (¹²² ~~110~~).

In July/August, 1732 Sindhia and Holkar were in Malwa with Anandirao Pawar. In September 1732 Sawai Jaisingh was appointed by Mughal Emperor a subhedar

of Malwa. In February 1733, Udaji Rao Pawar became a traitor against Peshwa Bajirao and joined hands with Sawai Jaisingh; but Sindhia and Holkar defeated him as well as Sawai Jaisingh. Chhatrapati Shahu pardoned Udaji Rao Pawar for whatever he had done. Udaji Rao was then sent by Chhatrapati Shahu to fight with Siddi -

- Amber. He defeated Siddi Amber and brought his severed head to Chhatrapati Shahu. Chhatrapati Shahu was very much pleased with his act and in October 1734; Udaji Rao was given the saramjani of Ahirgarh, Bori and other places. After 1735, Udaji Rao supported Peshwa Bajirao and accepted his offer of sardari; which displeased Chhatrapati Shahu very much (109). Self respect of Udaji Rao; his disappointment and his act of joining enemy front resulted in the decline of Pawar families. People began to look at the acts of Dharkar, Malthankar, senior and junior Dewas and Chitegaonkar; the persons belonging to Pawar families with disloyalty. Peshwa Bajirao I neglected the progress and prosperity of Pawar families, so the Pawar families which were very much respectable and powerful in the past lost their prestige.

(~~YeshwantRao the man of discipline and his great deeds.~~)

AnandRao Pawar died of a snakebite at Ujjain on 1st January 1736. His elder son YeshwantRao Pawar enjoyed the rights of saramjami after the death of his father. YeshwantRao became sardar in August 1736. He accompanied Peshwa Bajirao in November in the siege of Delhi. In fight, which was fought on the battle field near Zeal lake against Mughal army in March 1737; the bravery shown by YeshwantRao Pawar was admirable (124). YeshwantRao Pawar accompanied Peshwa Nanaashev (Peshwa Balaji Bajirao) and when he met swai Jaisingh at Dholpur; on that occasion, taking into account the bravery and statesmanship of YeshwantRao he was honoured by Sawai-Jaisingh; with the title of "Sawai"(125).

In september 1745 YeshwantRao was at the service of SadashivRao Bhau. In December 1746, during the siege Bhadur Bhenda, YeshwantRao being short tempered and obstinate had a conflict of SadashivRao Bhau. Due to YeshwantRao's arrogant behaviour with SadashivRao Bhau; deprived of his

Saranjami by Peshwa Nana saheb lateron MalharRao Holkar pleaded in favour of YeshwantRao Pawar; but Peshwa Nanasaheb did not pardon him. YeshwantRao was frustrated due to such a step taken by the Peshwa and behaved whimsically; sometimes in the south and some times in the North Malwa. At last he was willing to join hands with the Nizam. But misunderstanding were cleared of and YeshwantRao Pawar received his rights of saranjami in 1749(¹²⁶~~142~~). However the some brave warrior yeshwantRao Pawar did not escape from the third battle of Panipat 1761; while fighting with Ahmad Shah Abdali and faced a brave death (¹²⁷~~145~~).

RAGHOBADADA OFFER OF SHELTER (PROTECTION) AT DHAR CAUSED A DECLINE OF PAWAR SANSTHANS;

The Queens of YeshwantRao I, perticulary sakwarbai and Gahinabai presumed that their husband was not "dead, but "disappeared"; like SadashivRao Bhau, and continuned to put on Saubhagya Tilak on their foreheands for a long time. When it was decidedly stated that YeshwantRao died on the battle field; his son Khanderao was honoured with rights of Saranjami by Peshwa under the parental care of SakwarBai and Audhekar Diwan; who administered the

sansthan. Queen Sakarbai paid very carefully attention to the administration personally and improved financial condition of the state.

KhandeRao Pawar was married to Narmadabai, the daughter of GovindRao Gaikwad, who then a sardar of Gujrat. Naturally KhandeRao sought guidance from his father in law and joined RaghunathRao(Raghoba dada) openly. His act was disliked by Bar-bhai after the assassination of Peshwa NarayanRao, the Barbhai group opined that KhandeRao Pawar should opposed that the evil deeds of RaghunathRao and his group. But KhandeRao supported RaghunathRao and was appointed as a secretary to RaghunathRao. Later on the administration and control of the fort of Dhar was handed over to Anandabai, the wife of RaghunathRao. When such an event was noticed by Peshwa MadhavRao I; he sent his army to the fort of Dhar and seized it.

During the same period KhandeRao was deprived of his rights of Saranjami. At last KhandeRao Pawar had to go to Poona for the treaty with Peshwa MadhavRao I and

Barbhai group. He received the right of Saranajami and in August 1776; KhandeRao had to adjust with the group of Barbhai for reconciliation (¹²⁸~~144~~).

^{Eventually.}
Eventually the Sardars from pawar families brought about the decline of their own sansthan; because the powerful, were displeased with the pawar families.

In February 1782 KhandeRao Pawar died, after a small period of illness at Kawatha. KhandeRao's son AnandRao II was quite young, as a result a number of conflict and conspiracys in the family cropped up. MahipatRao, the step son of YeshwantRao I; offered four lakhs rupees to Nana Fadnavis in order to obtain the rights of succession of sansthan. But when RaghunathRao, Aundhekar the Diwan; told about the fact to Haripant Phadke i.e. about the succession of sansthan; Nana Fadnavis realized that he was being cheated.

SOME INCIDENTS THAT CREATE MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT
PAWAR SANSTHAN.

One more incident relating misunderstanding about Dharkar Pawar Sansthan in the minds of Peshwa and other Marathas Sardars was, the event, which took place at the marriage ceremony of Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao celebrated on 17th February 1782.

Anand Rao II was born after the death of his father Khande Rao Pawar, hence it was not possible for anybody belonging to Pawar families to attend the marriage ceremony. This event of an absence of Pawars at the marriage ceremony gave rise to misunderstanding about Anand Rao II's family in the mind of Peshwa. The Pawar family had to face number of difficulties due to the misunderstanding created in the mind of Peshwa. Peshwa continued to neglect the pawars. Pawars were fed up with the irresponsible ^{behaviour} ~~behaviour~~ of Raghunath Rao - Aundhekar, Diwan of Anand Rao Second. There were numbers of complaints against him. Pawars express ability to serve the Peshwa and asked for the removed of the Diwan, but the Peshwa totally ignored the complaint of pawar Anand Rao II. Peshwa's attitude clearly indicates the prejadice that had developed in their mind since the marrege of Sawai Madhav Rao.

The second incident goes thus; Yeshwant Rao Holkar escaped from Nagpur and took shelter at Anand Rao II. Anand Rao Pawar kept him in his service and gave

cavalry of 300 soldiers under his control; as AnandRao gave shelter to YeshwantRao Holkar; his action displeased peshwa BajiRao II and DaulatRao Sindhia. AnandRao had to pay some lakhs of Rupees for compromise. AnandRao act to give shelter to Yeshwantrao and help offered to him; developed a great misunderstanding among Maratha sardars and the Peshwa BajiRao II. Apart from this, he had to bear the consequences(¹²⁹~~127~~).
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Taking into consideration the events quoted above it can be stated that UdajiRao Pawar was such a powerful sardar and had a lion share in the expansion of Hindavi Swarajya; even then he ^{had} to give up the rights of saranjami and to lead a quiet life at Malthan; just because he joined hands with the opponents of Peshwa BajiRao I. Similarly AnandRao, YeshwantRao I, Krishanaji Pawar of senior Dewas Murar Jagdev of Chitegaonkar etc Pawars families were deprived of the rights of Saranjami though they were brave and efficeins, One of the reason for their loss of honour with peshwa was their streight fowardness. KhandeRao Pawar offered the rights and administration of fort of Dhar to Raghobadada, so the Barbhaj-group and Maratha Sardars were displeased with him. AnandRao II, KrishandeoRao of senior Dewas Murar JagdevRao of Chitegaon extended the hands of co operation to YeshwantRao Holkar, the then Sardar of Indore Sansthan; Pawar families had to pay some lakhs of rupees for compemising Maratha Sardars and face unavoidable difficulties.

It makes the thing clear that in Maratha dominion the great brave and powerful Maratha Sardars had to give up their self respect just because of the misunderstandings created in the mind of Peshwas. Holkar, Sindhia, Bhonsale and other families were in the good books of the Peshwas. They used to praise the greatness and prosperity of their own sansthan. But Udaji Rao Pawar and his all successive Pawar families showed their assertive attitude during his life time and refused to compromise.

As a result Dharkar, Dewaskar Malthankar, Chitegaonkar and others belonging to Pawar families had to go on the path of decline just because; they

did not surrender and a sort of misunderstanding developed in the minds of Maratha Sardars; Chhtrapati, and the Peshwas. Though they had honestly shouldered the responsibilities in the expansion of Hindavi-Swarajya; they had to face the odds. This not only surprising but even a sad and complicated affairs in which the pavar familie were put in.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HOUSE OF THE PESHWA AND MALWA AND RUINOUS ACTIVITIES OF THE MARATHAS:-

The condition in the Maratha state, at that time, were extremely adverse to the interest of the Peshwa; as General Wellesly observed, "in 1803, his(Peshwa) Government was present only in name. His authority was not established beyound the radius of 5(Five) miles of Poona and he had not in his service a common Klerk (Carcoon) or a mildar whom he could trust with the management of a single district (¹³⁰178). Apart from the viciously hightening grip of the British, many other factors;greatly contributed to increase the peshwa's unsurmountable difficulties. In consequence of the ravages, the country had suffered for the preceding

six years; especially the ruin caused by pathans in 1803, proved a year of acute scarcity, famine that broke out in 1803; not only in the Poona state, but in Bearar, and Khandesh as well (¹³¹~~132~~).

The Peshwa himself was mere figurehead, on the mansad, with absolutely no economic or military standing. Determined to exploit the weakness of the Poona Government for their selfish ends, many Maratha Chiefs, who were adherents of the old regime, indulged with impunity in pillaging activities in different quarters of the state(¹³²~~133~~). All these incidents were, no doubt symptomatic of the fatal disease of unscrupulous selfishness; disruption, and lawlessness, from which the Maratha body politic of that period suffered, but they were essentially illustrative of the British attitude towards the Peshwa. The lawless activities of the pindhari soon assumed the aspect of a serious rebellion against the Peshwa, when he openly attacked the Peshwa's territory.

The chaotic conditions, which followed Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao's death greatly accentuated this evil. Majority of these maratha sardars; Military chiefs formed as Southern Jagirdars, being adherents of the old regime had under the last Peshwa, not only failed

in rendering any service to the state, but had quite often made common cause against the Peshwa. They made it their usual practice to assemble troops for the Purpose of ravaging the territory of the Peshwa and of their neighbours. The Peshwa; military by weaker than his Jagirdars; did not have the power to restrain them(¹³³~~132~~). Maratha Sardars, fully exploited the anarchy of the period and weakness of the central Government. Many of them acquired lands to which they had absolutely no legal reights. The old Jagirdars, withheld their contingents from all services, not connected with their own interests. They openly and flagrantly defied the central authority; and by their increased mutual wars, the misery of the people and anarchy in the state.

The situation as it existed at the time was extremely vexatious and highly inimical, to the interest of the Poona Government. Economically the Government treasury was greatly impoverished, deprived as it was of the revenues from the saramjami lands and from the territories usurped by the chiers. Even in 1805; the non payment of revenue by the southern chiefs meant an annual loss of minimum fifty lakhs; to the Peshwa Government. Military, the Peshwa's Government was substantially weakened as the services of the large and best part of army; maintained on the Government's Saramjami lands, were denied to it; while those very troops were continually

harnessed by the Jagirdars to attack and ravage the territories of the Peshwa; which brought nothing but ruin and misery to the people and the land. Politically, the situation was fraught with dangerous, self seeing, rebellious class of chiefs brought nothing but chaos; and instability to the state(134).

This situation however gave to the British a clue to the policy; the Peshwa desired to pursue in respect of the Southern Jagirdars. The British never desired that the Peshwa to be strong and stable; since their continued unimpaired dominance at Poona from the Peshwa's point of view; they were naturally rebellious against this Government and hence, Peshwa thought it disgraceful on his part to restore them to his favour under British Pressure (135). The Peshwa even at the stage was certainly not promoted by feeling of revente towards the southern Jagirdars and was prepared to conciliate them. The charge later on levelled against the Peshwa by Resident Elphinstone that the principle obstinacy and unreasonableness of the Peshwa who would be satisfied with nothing but destruction of the Jagirdars(136).

The real reason was that the Peshwa had already begun negotiating with Sindhia and Holkar to remove all their subsisting differences and to facilitate co operation with them. The British suspected that the proposed

appointment of the sirsubha in Hindustan was directed towards fulfilment of that objectives. The Peshwa was deeply hurt and enraged by the obstructionist tactics adopted by the British at every step. They systematically and mercilessly throttled every effort made by the Peshwa towards efficient administration, Economic recovery political stability and military strength. The peshwa also tried to repair the damage done to the relationship between the house of the Peshwa and the Chhatrapati of Satara because of Nana's high handed policy and strove to establish the basis of goodwill and respectful deterrence(137).

The Peshwa also tried his best in the given circumstances, to suppress the disturbances caused by the Bhills and other tribes and lawless elements and to bring peace and tranquillity to the land. As the Peshwa tried his best to build up his military strength on one pretext or another. Elphinstone, seeing the objective behind the Peshwa's moves, brought from the proposal that the Peshwa should raise regular trained battalions of infantry for the protection of his dominions(138).

From this time onwards, the Gaikwad state, wholly come to be dominated by the British. Anand Rao Gaikwad himself Rani Takhabai and Sitaram, who succeeded to the

Diwanship of the state on Raoji's death in September, 1803 were all strongly anti british (139). In the Peshwa's Durbar at that times; there was none as shrewd, bold and capable of Trimbakji Dengle. Contrary to the picture painted of Trimbakaji by some European historians as a "Worthless, vain menial, who had joined as ascendancy in the Poona court by catering to the baser inclination of the Peshwa". But he was infact a "Man of considerable courage and ability(140). Like the Peshwa; Trimbakji was bitterly hostile to the British and laboured hard to established law and order in the Peshwa's territory(141). From the maratha records it becomes appeared that even from the year 1805; the Peshwa had begun entrusting to Trimbakaji's charge many importance matless in the state(142). He began systematically strengtheing the Peshwa's army enlisting chiefly Arab and Gosavi infanky. He was strick disciplinarian and inflicted deterrent punishments. On all who failed in their duty to deposit the scheduled amounts of revenues in the treasury(143). The activities of the Peshwa and Trimbakji gained momentum by the later half of 1813, when the British were experiencing a rather difficult time in their war against Nepal(144).

Realising the imperative necessity of forming a united front against the British, the Peshwa through Trimbakji wrote in 1811, secret envoys, were despatched to Gawalior, Nagpur and Indore. The whole course of the policy of the Peshwa and Trimbakji was directed to maturing a combined movement for the expulsion of the English(145).

Moreover the assassination of the Shastri gave an excellent weapon into the hands of the British to openly crush all opposition both at Baroda and Poona. At one stroke, the pro Peshwa and hence, the potentially dangerous Shastri was eliminated, on that excuse the patriotic party at Baroda was crushed; and a deadly blow was struck at Trimbakji's with a view to paralysing the Peshwa's efforts to consolidate his strength and build up a united front against the English(146).

From all the aforesaid facts the only deduction that can be drawn is that from among the seven persons closely connected with the Shastri episode i.e. the Peshwa, Trimbakji, Elphinstone, Bapu Mairal, Sitaram Govindrao Bandhuji and Bhagwantrao; if anybody is to be singled out on the basis of motive for the murder(¹⁴⁷~~146~~). As it was politically expedient that Trimbakji should be separated from the cause of the Peshwa. Elphinstone promptly accused Trimbakji of the Shastri's murder and demanded of the Peshwa that he be immediately arrested. The Peshwa refused to comply, pointing out the injustice of arresting a person against, whom no proof was brought forth(¹⁴⁸~~147~~).

All this while, the Peshwa pursued his recruitment campaign with great urgency. Efforts to secure complete co operation and military assistance from Sindhia, Bhonsle, Holkar, Gaikwad were also speeded up. The Peshwa appealed to all the Maratha Chiefs that since were all "Pugureebunds",

the wearers of turbans; it their sacred duty to help each 271
other against their common enemy. On the Maratha side, it was
believed that Sindhia, Holkar Bhonsle, Ameerkhan, Banjeetsing;
the Jat of Bharatpur the Nawab of Lukhnow etc., were all ready
to co operate with the Peshwa(¹⁴³~~143~~).

While the Peshwa, thus exerted in all possible ways
for war against the British; he during that same period tryed
to maintain best pssible appearance of mittyand good will in
his relationship with the Resident. ~~Both Balwantrao Chifris~~
~~and Rangobhapuji~~ Some minior Maratha chieffans and officials
unfortunately were licking the information and were associating
themselves with the British. Both Balwantrao chifris and
~~Rango-Bapuji~~ proved traitors to their country by approaching
Elphonstone for aid; against the Peshwa. Unfortunately for the
Maratha Nation, ~~there~~ was no dearth of men ready to sell their
nations interests for a few coins or vatans, who contributed
substantially to the succes of Elphinstane's schemes.

The most eminent among such contemptiable individuals,
who rendered services as Traitor, those years of crisis was
Bala pant Natu. He a stooped to the meanest of the acts

to serve the British and become the most potent weapon in the hands of Elphinstone to destroy the Peshwa (¹⁵⁰~~170~~). This man informed each and every detail of the Peshwa's secret meetings, ^{Talks}~~plans~~ plans and movements, to the Resident. He was one of the persons, who had given evidence against Trimbakji and the Shastri's murder. Matu succeeded in corrupting some clerks in the Peshwa's Daftar and in getting access to some of the secret documents of the Poona Government (~~177~~).

There were many other informers, whose names appear in British records, such as Ganeshpant, who was paid Rs. 50 p.m., Angere's diwan Bhapu-Bhat, the chitnis of Satara, the Peshwa's karkun, at Nasik etc., even Raghopant; the vakeel of the peshwa with the Residency and Chimaji Narayan, a very high official in the Poona Durbar were corrupted (172). Thousands of rupees were spent by Elphinstone on secret service and many among those who flocked round the peshwa, Maratha and Brahmans etc, supplied valuable information to Elphinstone, Indeed excepting Bapu Gokhale, there was hardly any maratha chief in the Poona court, who had not been bought over by British money(¹⁵¹~~173~~).

In the meantime the Peshwa on his part made complete preparations for the ultimate struggle in all possible ways. Elphinstone indeed hoped that the Peshwa's timidity will lead him to wait for some decided advantage before he appeared as their open enemy (152). By the end of October Elphinstone, received a private message from Baloba Vinchoorkar conveying to him the information about the hostile designs of the Peshwa. Moro Dixit, the Peshwa's minister, who regarded himself a friend of Major Ford, also disclosed to the latter, "that there would speedily be night attack on the British". The Anglo Maratha relations went on becoming more and more strained, and this ultimately led to the Anglo Maratha wars. Third Anglo Maratha war almost decided the fate of Maratha power. The third Maratha war brilliantly fought by the British and the Peshwa's forces were forced to fall back upon Poona at the battle of Yerwade on Nov. 15, 1817; The Peshwa realised full well that this unfortunate event would be exploited by the British to the fullest possible extent in their war against the Marathas.

To ^{up}sum^{the} conclude, the Relations of the Maratha Princely States of Malwa with the Peshwa Government that the death of Mahadaji Sindhia in 1794, led to the decay of Maratha influence in Northern India and left the path clear for the expansion of British dominions. The death of Nana Phadnavis, the powerful minister, six years later in 1800 was still more serious to the Marathas and their cause. With the departure of Nana Phadnavis; departed all the wisdom and moderation of Maratha Government.

If Raghoba was primarily responsible for the first Anglo Maratha war; his son Bajirao II ~~and~~ was responsible for the IInd and IIIrd was between English and the Marathas. However the Maratha were attacked from all side; and Bhonsle(December 1803) Sindhia(December 1803) and YeshwantRao Holkar(1804) were severely defeated and were humbled and humiliated. They were reduced to British vassalage. But they were not reconciled to the loss of independance and refused to learn from expensence. They lacked the patience to set their house in order by re-building their state. They lacked rational outlook and scientific knowledge, atillary and well trained soldiers, equipped with ~~x~~ upto date arms and led by competent officers.

The political administrative condition in the maratha dominions was confused and gloomy in the years following the IInd Anglo Maratha war. In the meantime the IIIrd Anglo Maratha war, heroic. Bajirao II was thinking of driving the English from Poona. His dreams were finally shattered at koregaon and khadki; where the English won easy victroias and thus ended Bajirao's dream of re establishing his authority as the head of the maratha Empirs. The maratha state was thus wipedout of existance in 1818. From now on the British flag flew unchalanged over the Deccan and the greater part of northen India. The Sindhia, Holkar rivalry disturbed the peace of land; fostered internal dissension,

hampered the establishment of Maratha hegemony in North India and finally broke up the maratha coalition against the English. The internal stresses in Maratha state was emphasized by administrative anarchy. The Maratha chiefs believed that the highest political wisdom consisted in finessing diplomatic intrigues. The method employed by maratha diplomats were extremely crude. The military organisation of the maratha was ill organised, illequipped and ill disciplined.

To summarise the Relations of the Marathas —→

— Princely States of Malwa with the Peshwa Government. There →

—→ is no denying the fact that the Maratha states in Malwa was the political manifestation of the national spirit which had infused the people before the advent of Chhtrapati Shivaji, whose own army was largely inspired by this spirit and had complete unity of aim; purpose and action. However the panipat disaster far from being the cause of the military decline of the Maratha power, was indeed the result of these serious drawbacks that had developed in their organization of the army till the last the Maratha never learnt the importance of strict discipline and implicit obedience. Hence the dominion that was built on the foundations of the national spirit and the strength of the sword crumbled to pieces; no sooner that spirit vanished and the sword got blunted.

The ca^hotic conditions which followed Peshwa Sawai Madhav^hRao's death greatly accentuated this evil. All the Jagirdars and princely rulers in Malwa also openly and flagrantly defied the central authority; and by their incessant mutual wars increased manifold, the misery of the populace and the anarchy in the state.

The history of the period of six years succeeding the death of Sawai Madhav^hRao presents a lamentable picture of selfishness; distrust, opposition of interests and competition for power in the Maratha politics. Indeed there is no parallel example in the Maratha history to such a woeful state of affairs, which the country presented during this period. The anarchy was unprecedented. Everyone of his chiefs, pursuing his own interests, entirely unmindful of the dangers, which at the time threatened the security of the State. The whole Maratha confederacy was stricken to its very roots with treachery; bloodshed and anarchy. The dissensions among the marathas and the resultant wounds, they inflicted on one another and on the state too deep for healing.

It might well be said with justification that Maratha independence could have been saved had the Peshwa^w Baji^hRao II, instead of signing the treaty of Bassein 1802; surrendered himself to Amrit^hRao and Holkar. But that could neither have brought to an end the troubles of the state, nor could it have kept the British away from Poona. Sindhia Holkar war, the British would certainly have got a chance they were waiting

for with Amrit Rao at the helm of affairs at Poona. The very fact that Yeshwant Rao Holkar single handedly, could later on face the British; proves that the combined power of the Marathas would have certainly proved more than a match for British. It is also not correct to hold that it was the treaty that precipitated the war or that had there been no treaty of Bassein amity and peace would have prevailed between the Marathas and the British.

The Maratha politics thus in 1803, was lamentable scene of disunity, distraction and chaos. Taking advantage of it, the British moved with remarkable alacrity to restore the Peshwa under their initiative. Because of non co operation, mutual suspicion, jealousy and strife among the Maratha chiefs, who controlled the feudal army the military strength of the state decline fast. Hence it might well be said with justification that the Maratha military power was lost by the end of the first Anglo Maratha War.

Sindhia and Holkars were the most powerful and formidable of the Maratha chiefs, because of the efficient states of their military establishments particularly Sindhia had a regular infantry under the direction command of his European officers. Hence Sindhia had been the greatest cause of anxiety and apprehension for the British. Their supremacy in India could never have become a reality, ^{and} ~~unless~~ Sindhia was annihilated. Sindhia thus for them; was a key to the whole situation.

To break the Sindhian Power; the first necessity from their point of view was to "effect their such an arrangement as should preclude the union of the Maratha States in Malwa and to isolate Sindhia as far as possible, from other Maratha Chiefs? Though they failed in detaching Bhonsale from Sindhia; they succeeded remarkably well with AmritRao and Holkar. As soon as Sindhia was crushed on November 1803 at Asai, Aligarh; Gawilwad; the British turned to Holkar.

Even conceding all the Maratha drawbacks the fact cannot be denied that the most important of the factors, which contributed to maratha ruin was the treachery of Sindhias European officers. The Peshwa BajiRao II, himself was a victim of this treachery, disunion and anarchy, never experienced any respite or stability of specious independence. He was surrounded on all sides with reckless; selfishness, opposition, defiance and conflicts. During these years, the Peshwa was continually subjected to humiliation degradation and defiance. His friends and foes were alike and equally destructive to his authority, prestige and resources. All these disorders and incidents were no doubt symptomatic of the fatal disease of unscrupulous selfishness, disruption and lawlessness; from which the Maratha body politics of that period suffered., and it had the time been thoroughly hollowed from within.

To sum up the conclusion with Elphinstone that, "the decline of the Maratha Empire had started long before the latter came to Power"¹⁵³. In short the Peshwa was deeply hurt and enraged by the obstructions and tactics adopted by the British at every step; pitted against such powerful enemy, the Marathas woefully fell short in unity; patriotism, and national spirit; which in turn affected their military might. Not that there was in their side entire lack of National feeling; but it was not strong enough to overcome their separatist tendency, their differences and their "discordant tempers" and Jarring interests.

To conclude the relations of the Maratha princely States of Malwa with the Peshwa Government in short; the Maratha struggle had indeed long ended and the downfall become an established fact, with the surrender of Chhatrapati and with the return of all the Maratha chiefs to their home towns, leaving Peshwa Bajirao II, all alone in the field, Peshwa Bajirao II was not the cause of the downfall, but its result. It was the disunity and dissensions among the Maratha chiefs and the resultant Maratha military weakness, entirely devoid of self respect; spirit of independence was responsible for the downfall of the Maratha Power.

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CHAPTER. IV. : : : :

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MARATHA SETTLEMENTS IN MALWA. : : : :

MARATHA SETTLEMENTS AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION IN MALWA :

ADMINISTRATION GENERAL REVIEW :

The administrative Revenue, Military, Financial, Judicial, administration grew and changed over the country. It was susceptible to time, Place and personalities and bore the marks of the history of the Maharashtra. When V.A. Smith or Percival Spear observed that, "The marathas failed to rise above the level of plunders. While Irfan Habib asserts that the pendaries were symbolic of the maratha system"(1).

However, above all Indian and Foreign historians tend lose the normal background of an age and perhaps seeks to prove too much from too limited a survey. It is however, but just remember that Mount Stuart Elphinstone, Malcolm, Grand Duff; who after the Peshwa's downfall in 1818; were appointed to administer the maratha country; expressed themselves favourably about their administrative system and wanted to preserve as much of it as they could (2).

It is entirely unreasonable and illogical to affirm that "very little is known of the administration in Malwa during the early period of Hindu rule"(3). But this charge also is not substantiated by contemporary records. In the mean time it seems certain that the village administration known as the "Bara Balooti", system was a relic of the old Hindu times and that this merged in the mohmedan system after the country was conquered and occupied by them. Under the Mohmedan rule the system of administration, that was in force in Malwa, was developed under Akbar. The main principles of the system were divided and subdivided into Sarkars, Parganas, Talukas and villages, Subhedar, Zamindar, Kanungo, Patel, Chaukidar; were the officers of their particular divisions civil and criminals justice was administered by the subhedar himself, assisted by his local representatives and panchayats (4).

When the marathas conquered Malwa, the then prevailing system of administration was allowed to continue with little change. They appointed their own high officers to whom however, they assigned new names and duties as were then in vogue in Poona.

There were the Diwan, the Phadnis, the Mugumdar, the Chitnis, Licoanavis, the potnavis, the Daftardar, Mutsaddis and Karkoon. The duty of each wing was clearly defined. All these except the last two, were at first appointed by the Peshwa such was the system of administration in Sindhia, Pawar and Holkar also ⁵(4).

Much source of material is available in the Bakhars or chronicles of Shivaji's period and old papers of his times published by Rajwade and the Bharat Itihas sansthodhan mandal of Poona over the last half a century. These ^{Sources} ~~sources~~ supplemented by Peshwa's diaries and the selections from the Peshwa-Daftar edited by Sardesai; Ranade, Chitnis, Gune, Chajwalkar, Kulkarni, Gaset and Gasetteers respectively. Particularly in Naka, J. Malcolm, Savotbadur Barve; Dr. Raghuvir Singh, V.R. Natu, V.S. Waknkar, Lele, Hoare, Kunte, Lyard, help us in coming to a right understanding of the evolution of Maratha administration over a century. Ranade, Kelkar, Rajwade Dr. Raghuvir Singh, Sen, Sarkar, Sardesai and other scholars have made admirable attempts to give accounts of system (5).

All these sources give us a good account of the Maratha's administration in Maharashtra and Malwa. The time has come to challenge the V.A. Smith, P. Spear, Irrfan-Habib's schools of postulates and cultivate a corrective taking account of the newly discovered materials and work of Banade, Sarkar, Sen Dr. Bhaugvirsingh, Hoare, Burve, Lale Matu, Kulkarni etc.

Moreover, the British diplomats of the day need not have thus superciliously singled out the Marathas for branding them as immoral. When their own society and leaders in those days suffered for a greater extent from the plague of moral depravity. As famous British historian Trevelyan admits the British society during the reign of George III, was just one vast casino (3).

In one of the Elphinstone's despatches of 1817, observed that "the country was as well governed as most other under native Governments" (4). Mill in this connection has recorded that the country was not badly administered; and the people were prosperous

and contented under the Peshwa's Govt.(9). The whole history of the relations of the British with this much maligned Marathas administration; clearly indicates that the maratha administration apparently for the protection, peace and security of their dominions.

If conclusion is to be critically and impartially from contemporary records and historical facts; it becomes apparent that the Maratha administrators, undoubtedly had in them qualities ascertial as rulers. The maratha system of administration, a distinctions must be made between "Swarajya"; which was the territories within Maharastra; the maratha homeland and "Samrajya", which was territories outside of it and from which the dual maratha charge of chauth and Sardeshmukhi were realised. The distinction between the two is natural for the reasons, first the Swarjya was directed under the Chhtrapati and the Peshwa. Secondly ethnically and culturally; it was more homogenous than the far-flung

dominions. The svarajya territories were more or less those conquered by Shivaji, while samrajya territories fell under the maratha Sardars, controlled in the time of supremacy of the Peshwa (9).

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION IN MALWA :-

Under the central Government were the confederate chiefs in Malwa like Sindhia, Holkar and Pawar. (Chhatrapati Shivaji never granted Jahagir, Maranjams or estates on hereditary basis.) V.S. Khare carefully remarks that "In peace time maratha rule prevailed every where in times of confusion it was no where" (10). As Palmer wrote to the Governor General in 1795 that "The Maratha Government in Hindustan is; but ill-qualified for permanent conquest or civil administration" (11). But this charge also is not substantiated by contemporary records. There are ample records extant to prove that Maratha had undoubtedly essential qualities for administration.

In the time of Chhatrapati Shahu, when the maratha military leaders were assigned different

territories over which to establish the maratha sway in written for certain payments to the central Government; these military chiefs carried the maratha arms farwide and owed the territories of malwa. since they developed their authority on their own and not, due to any grants of territories actually under the control of Chhatrapati. They started asserting their independence more particularly, when the peshwa usurped the powers of the Chhatrapati and yet more; so when the peshwa's powers themselves fell under the control of his chief minister Nana Phadnavis. The chiefs often joined together against common foe, but internally, they became independent, owing only a common allegiance to the maratha crown. Together they constituted what was known as the Maratha confederacy; though there was no constitutional basis for it and it depended more on usages and convenience than law. The territories held by the chiefs were the saranjanje territories in the beginning; but later on many directly annexed by the chiefs, became their respective principalities. Their internal administration therefore varied from prince to prince (12).

The Maratha Empire was a loose confederacy of feudal military status. In the administrative organization these feudal chiefs continued the legacy of their master peshwa (13). The administrative setup at Poona was the model, which the Sardars introduced in their Jahagirdars. In Malwa Maratha princes or Jahagirdars had a system of administration of their own. At the time of Maratha conquest of Malwa, Mohammedan system of administration existed in their areas. But the Marathas allowed the system of administration to continue with some changes (14).

As three prominent Maratha Sardars i.e. Malhar-Rao Holkar, Ranoji Bindhia and Udayi Pawar were busy in expansion; they got little time for introducing changes in the administration. In the early days of Holkar, Pawar and Bindhia's dynasties no systematic form of administration existed. It was Ahilyabai Holkar of Holkar dynasty; Mahadaji Bindhia of Bindhia dynasty and Anand Rao Pawar of Pawar dynasty; who consolidated the territories of their independent dynasties. They however never allowed them to do anything against their wishes and ruled with abilities and wisdom; even John Malcolm, Elphinstone praised their administration (15).

Diwani- The Diwan may be termed as the Prime minister, who had suprintendence and control over every department in the state subject to the supreme power and sanction of the ruler himself. T. Madhavrao was appointed as the first Diwan of the Holkar state. Daulatrao Sindhia appointed Narjerao Gathage as his first Diwan. Wakankar, Aundhekar Nikant Rao Sathe were the Diwan of Pawars of Dhar meanwhile Holkar, Sindhia and Pawars administration also gradually took to English patern (16).

Honesty was supposed to be an essential quality for the post of Diwan or Prime minister. In the same way sound-knowledge of political situations and political strategy; statemanship and the best qualities of commandership were also regarded as essential qualification for the said post. Diwan was regarded as commander in chief of his master's army. Diwan had to handle every political situation successfully. Diwan had direct relationship with maratha and mughal courts. Diwan had special rights as regard the inclusion of any village; Taluka or pargana in the dominion of maratha's Jahagir;

Whenever such a situation used to crop-up. He enjoyed the special rights of correspondence and execution of orders. Similarly Diwan was held responsible for *Mokasa* of the dominion administration of the *Jahagir* and the development of territory (17).

Keeping these points in view as well as the actual terms of the *Sanads*, it is clear that such persons are under an obligation to willingly perform such services as may be required of them. Whenever any orders are passed by the *Durbar*, the *Divans* immediately put forward objections calling on the *Durbar* to have due regards for their prestige and proper adherence to the terms in old records. But it is unfortunate that they never give a moment's thought as to what the *Durbar's* right are. The *Divans* puffed up with pride, disregarded the *Durbar's* orders a most injurious attitude. The most disregarded *Divans* of the *Maratha Durbars* in *Malwa*; who disturbed the prestige of the *Durbar* were the *Diwan Chandrabud* of *Ahilyabai Holkar's*

regime; Sarje-Rao Gathge of Daulatrao Sindhia and the Diwan Aundhekar of Sakwarbai Pavar's regime (18). Unfortunately in practice it is found the Divans generally resort to unlawful means in order to benefit themselves at the expense of their subjects. This shortsighted and miserly policy is incompatible with their dignity. In addition Sensuality, drunkenness, ^{indebtedness} indolence, carelessness and benefiting themselves at the expense of their subjects are evils, which will ultimately ruin the Durbar as well as the subjects; just as leeches drain a man's blood (19). However it is the duty of the ruler of the state to speak justly, listen to what is true and act honestly.

THE ROLE OF PHADNAVIS, MUZUMDAR AND SICCANA VIS:-

The Phadnavis was the head civil officer, who received the accounts given by the collectors of revenue. He was to inspect all accounts of public-disbursements of every district. The Muzumdar kept all the accounts of the pargana. The Chitnavis was the secretary of the state. He carried on all political

correspondence, public or confidential as directed by the ruler. The sicoanavis was the keeper of the seal of the ruler. He kept in his office a register of all such documents of the revenue. He was also an indendant of finance (20).

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE PARGANA ADMINISTRATION IN MALWA.

The administration of a pargana was placed under an officer called kamaviadar or Amin. He was "The instrument of the collector and that it was through him that all the settlements were made and all collections realized, it was from him also that the collector should expect most of his information".

In Malwa the pargana were either too small or too big. Amine or Kamaviadars undertook inspections of the villate panchayats also. When Ijaredari system was in force in the state; these Amine were called "Kamaviadars", but under "Khalsa system", they were Amine. Kamaviadar had the control of all the villages in the pargana (21).

Under the supervision of the pargana the pargana the kamaviadar heard the appeals of village panchayats in administrative cases, who was authorised

under panchayat Act to inspect the records of panchayat and to change the order passed by the panchayats. The karnavadar's official emoluments were often fixed at four(4%) percent of the revenue of the pargana in his charge together with certain allowances (22).

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION:-

The general object of the village panchayats was to accommodate matters between the parties. Gyara-panch or panchayats, the origin of which is traced from the time of MalharRao Holkar; UdayiRao Pawar and Ranaji Sindhia (23). Malcolm thought the panchayats were restored to "find the facts or adjudge the case"(24).

The hereditary village officer in most parts of Malwa; differ little from the same description of officers in other quarters. The patil or headman of the village is in almost every pargana (or district) deemed hereditary. The quality of land enjoyed by a patil is proportionated to the size of the village that varies from 10 to 200 Beghas. (A bigha has been composed at 1/3 of an acre) but its size differs in almost every). There are many patils in Malwa, who in prosperous times, besides supporting themselves and

family made 500 to 1000 rupees profit from their freeland and dues and more than double of the amount by cultivating their own or Government's land. The patil of malwa are of all castes. We find not only Mohomedans and Brahmins but meewatties and Gossains also.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION IN MALWA:-

The most important source of income in Malwa dominions of the Marathas as elsewhere in India was the land Revenue. It absorbed almost 40% of the gross income from the land. The land in Malwa are divided into governments containing from 10 to 40 districts. Each district having from 50 to upwards of 300 villages. The general features of land revenue administration in the state of Malwa are therefore as under (27).

- 1) Survey and preparation of records of rights.
 - 2) Assessment of land revenue.
 - 3) Collection of the revenue & associated for the purpose of assessment, it is said the land of the country was divided on the basis of the three principles.
-

- 1) First the quality of land(sheri) whether it was good, bad or middling.
- 2) Secondly availability of the irrigational facilities.
- 3) Third, the particular type of crop raised. It was then correctly measured and the rate was fixed according to the quality and other principle above anumerated. The best land is said, paid as much as two fifth($2/5$) of its produce and land devenus. The Maratha Government did not recognize the right of the subject "to sell, mortgage or otherwise alienate the land"(28).

MalharRao Holkar, Ranoji Sindhia, and Udaji Pawar had no time to introduce any change in the existing system. They just appointed their own officers to control the Jamindars. In fact, It was not possible in those days to make direct revenue collections, from the farmers, who paid fixed amount to the state. The Maratha Government in Malwa rented their lands for a period often, twelve, twenty and even thirty years. In some parts of DaulatRao Sindhia's dominions, there was frequent.....

and annual changes of masters. But in Holkar's dominions, the system of long term lease prevailed(29).

Revenue during the time of Ahilyabai Holkar, Anand Rao Pawar of Dhar and Mahadaji Sindhia, increased considerably because of certain reforms. But after the death of these prominent rulers, disorder prevailed everywhere; to the extent that during the regency of Mal Rao Holkar II, Daulat Rao Sindhia of Gwalior Khandao I of Dhar and Tukoji Rao Pawar of Dewas, military officers raided neighbouring states to collect money and valuables for payment to the fighting forces(30). The general feature of the land revenue administration, as it existed at the time of the first two settlements, provided for two kinds of managements viz. Khalsa and Ijara system(31).

Khalsa Revenue System:

Under the Khalsa system, relation was made direct by the state from the cultivators or tenants; through the patwari; who was the local realising agent for each village. The Patwari was the chief agent who prepared the rent roll, roughly for the first instalment and more carefully for the second one or second kist, But his rent roll was never correct, because he was not a skilled surveyor and his map was never upto date.

In fact it remained unaltered from one settlement to the next(32).

C.U. Mills described it, "The Ruler has always been the universal land lord; the cultivators are his tenants, their rights are, therefore liable to definite limitation and their assessment is the rent, they pay to the state; it can best be described (as Mr. Hoare described it) as the Khalsa system"(33).

IJARA OR IJARADARI SYSTEM:

Under this system, whole parganas or even whole district were leased out to Ijaradars or farmers of revenue at amounts fixed mostly on the basis of revenue collected in previous year. Ijaradars were

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given 10% (ten percent) commission on the actual amount of revenue paid to the state treasury plus 2½% (Two and half percent) for village expenses such as festivals; stationaries, temporary staff etc.

(34). Infact the difference between the revenue, they paid and revenue they realised, constituted their profit. They were held responsible for all arrears. Leases were given to them for eleven years, which could be renewed after the expiry of the period. According to Maulvi Syed Ali Hasan, the revenue member "The origin of system is to be found in those troublous times; when martial exploits claimed a paramount interest and the defensive and offensive operation left no time to the ruler to personally supervised the administration of the state. In those war like times, the collection of revenue by the ruler personally was impossible" (35).

The old method of survey was called "The kad Dhap" (کد ڈھاپ) the maps of which were mere hand sketches and measurements of which were made by rope tied at the ends round the two measure's waist. No field maps or village maps could be prepared by that method. This time also

survey was made according to the kad dhap method. But instead of ropes iron chains, were used for the first time (35). Because of the experience of Ijardars, they were appointed revenue officer in Khalsa land and under Ijaredari system the chief revenue officers were called kanaviadar, but under the Khalsa management their designation was changed and were called Amine; which is analogous to Tehasildars of today for revenue collections(37).

MERITS AND DEMERITS OF KHALSA AND IJ-REDARI REVENUE SYSTEM:-

Under the old system the cultivators; only knew that they had to pay so many rupees for their land. They did not know at what rate and for how many bighas, they had to pay it. But under the Khalsa and Ijaredari system, every cultivators came to know that he had to pay so many rupees for so many bighas of land. Under the old system, the uncultivable portion was free from assessment. Under the new settlement 10-15% of the uncultivable land was allowed free for purposes. In Malwa such land was called "Hankar lands. The Hankar meant rent free lands. But the Ijardari system remained in force and

they were asked to Ijaredars to collect the rent roll. Because of all these improvements the land revenue was more than doubled in each paragana, under the new settlement(38). Elphinstone severely criticised the system. According to him, "No moderation was shown in levying the sum fixed and every pretext for fine and every means of rigor and confiscation, was employed to squeeze the utmost out of the people, before the arrival of the day, when the Mamaltdar was to give up his charge(39). But this charge also is not substantiated by any contemporary record.

But even in this settlement, there were many defects. The fields or lands were not systematically classified. The rates were fixed by rough calculation of the cultivated and waste area. Assessment was not done according to the fertility of the land, hence the peasants, whose lands were less fertile, were burdened with heavy taxes, leading to discontentment among the ryotes. This settlement was regarded rather heavy; therefore in 1816 a revision survey was done by kad dhap survey and in some cases by the "Shanku Survey"(40).

HAKKAR REVENUE SYSTEM:-

That of land holders and cultivators in the Zamindar, a term which literally means "Hakkar", a compound persian phrase of Han-"Bread" and "Kar"- a work & meaning support for service(41). The Zamindar of a province or district though no doubt, originally raised by the rent and in which he was held by his class has always combined with his duties those of functionary of Government. He was supported by a grant of land which differs in amount, according to the size of the district and other circumstances. He has besides lesser dues, a percentage upon the collection, which in Malwa varies from four to eight percent. He was also a tritling claim on each caste and trade, as a blanket from weavers, oil from oilmen, a pair of shoes from shoes makers and so forth. This species of grant is called "Hakkar System" (42).

The Zamindar of Nolye is estimated at about 60 thousand rupees per annum. Prithwesingh, the Mandloi of Bandanavar a pargana of Dhar Government is a Rajput Thakur or chief and besides his percentage or right on the pargana, possesses the petty

principalities of Buchutgarh. In the mean time, It has been the policy of the maratha to reduce the power of these Zamindars. The old family of Indore Zamindars and the old family of Gwailior Zamindars such as Nanashah, Pawar, Madho-Rao Phalke, Marayankao Mahadik, though still affluent, are greatly reduced from that influence and power which they enjoyed under mughal government. The duties of the Zamindar are to preserve order and peace and by the influence of his station and character; where there are difficulties in collection the revenue^u. They are the person; whom the cultivators look up as their protector against any act or power that are in violation of established usage (43).

In the several of the large districts of Malwa. Some of the Zamindars have assistants, who act by their orders and occasionally as their substitute. Their offices are also hereditary and they are paid as the Zamindars, but with less land and smaller dues he has an allowance on collections. The Registrar(Kannungo) of the district though under Zamindars are hereditary native officers of

importance. They also enjoyed a percentage on collection with small claims upon the cultivators and trade men traders (44).

THE LAND MEASURER OR MIRDAR :

The land measurer of a district is also a vatandar, but of lower rank. His duties consisted of knowing boundaries measuring and allotting lands and settling disputes of cultivators regarding their respective fields paid by a small portion of land and a due generally of one rupee; upon each village. For the system of collection of land revenue, we may best quote Doctor S.N. Sen that "When the time for collection came, the Mahar or Lower in rank (Bala is the lower caste in Malwa) called the rent payer to the village chawdi, where the patil held his office. The Kulkarni or the village account keeper was present there with his records to assist the Patil in his work and so were Potdars. The latter assayed and stamped the money; when paid for which the rent payer got a receipt from the Kulkarni. When collection was over, the money was sent to the kamavisdar; with a letter under the charge of the chugula; and a similar letter, often a

duplicate copy was sent to Deshmukh under the charge of the Mahar. The chugula got receipt from the Mamlatdar for the sum paid, which was carefully preserved in the Kulkarni's bundle of village accounts. Sometimes a Shibandi was sent by the officer in-charge of the district of Tarf to help the Patil, in his work of collection. The revenue was generally paid in four instalments and sometimes in three (45). The system of land tenure prevalent in Indore is unique in India. It part-take of best features of other system; while it avoids past mistakes and guards against possible pitfalls. Ahilyabai in the district, where she made a "Bhuttase" settlement is stated to have never eaten more one forth. But in Dhar state "Batal" and "Halbari" system was available. The Batal system was available in Sindhi's Government. Under the Holkar's Government, the renting system formerly prevailed and it was the usage of Ahilyabai to grant long leases. These remarks upon the usages of renting lands apply equally to Dhar, Dewas, Ujjain and Gwalior as to those of Sindhi and Holkar (46).

There are in Malwa, as in other parts of India, a number of religious Hindus, who sometimes settle towns and villages, but more generally go from one district to another as they see a prospect of support from charity or employment. In money settlement the assessment fixed by the first Maratha princes in Malwa, were uncommonly moderate. These assessments varied according to the soil and produce in every district. In Malwa some Rajput peasants or Bhil chiefs were given lands known as "Istamar grants". These grants were made at a fixed moderate assessment. This was done only to conciliate and to induce the Bhils to cultivate the soil, so that they would be obliged to give protection (47).

The revenues of Dhar state in 1819, rose from Two lakhs and sixty seven thousand and 1817, when the British troops entered in malwa they certainly did not produce 20 thousand rupees. As far as Indore state revenue is concerned after the battle of mahidpur, administration came in the wise hands of Tantia Jog and the revenue of the state

rose from Rs. 5,00,000 a year in 1817, to Rs. 27,00,000 in 1826 in (48).

The administration of Dhar was conducted by Bapu Raghunath, who ^{was} acting in complete confidence of meriting and receiving of support of British Government, was incessant in his labours to restore this principality to prosperity. The territories of these two princes i.e. Raja of Dhar and Dewas were reduced in 1817 to a revenue of 10,000 rupees; they collected in 1819 ~~to~~ 109375 rupees. Dewas which was almost deserted, is now a populous town. During the early part of the nineteenth century; it had been a custom with the with the maratha chiefs in malwa to demand one year's revenue in advance and sometimes (if the collectors were rich) two years from those to whom they consigned countries. Ofcourse an interest of one percent per month was granted upon such advances (49).

THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN MALWA :-

The maratha system of administration was drawn both

from the ancient Hindu beliefs and the current mughals practices, which starting^{ed} with an aim of establishing a Hindu-pad-padebahi" degenerated into petty local powers, each fighting for its own gains. The army originally and entirely national, now included pathans, Arabs, Europeans and others. None of them was reliable. Marathas maintained strict discipline in their army and naval services. The difference comprising the booty was to be handed over to the state treasury, not a needle or a pie was allowed to be retained by the soldier. The accounts of military income and disbursements were prepared and submitted for the signatures of four officers, the Hazari, the mumundar, korbhari and Janvavis (50).

In malwa, the first ranking or Raja of Holkar, Dhar and Cavalior states, created Saram-jami sardars. These sardars maintained their own horses. They were supposed to help the chief whenever they needed and in return, they received grants of lands called saramjami for the maintenance of their troops (51).

In the battle of Panipat, an old maratha system of warfare proved unsuccessful. Therefore, after that debacle, maratha subhedars of malwa, specially Sindhia and Holkar employed the British officers to train the army. Both Tukajirao Holkar and Mahadaji Sindhia trained their army and decided to raise the strength as well.

ARTILLERY AND INFANTRY :-

In Malwa infantry was of two kinds. The first was irregular matablockmen either of the country or foreigners, who lived on higher pay. They were called Hajibs. They were armed with match locks. Swords and Shields and were persian (52). In Holkar state Frenchman Duernes on Rs.3000/- per month; and in Sindhia state Debogule was appointed on Rs.3000/- per month.

The other was regular infantry and parks of cannon. They were trained by European officers and were called Tilangas. They carried muskets and bayonets and were dressed like European soldiers. The colonel was commander of the infantry and artillery. Salaries were paid in cash. A Jamadar receiving

between 100 and 125 Hones a year; Hajari getting 1000 hones and a Panch-Hajari maximum of 200 Hones a year (53).

Cavalry:- cavalry was divided in to two classes. First the paga or household in which the horses belonged; to the state maintained by the state. Hereditary servants or hiredmen called Bargirs; who received pay for their services. The commander of the pagas was called sarnaubat (54). Second was the Risals or shil^eedars. The rider owned his horse and maintained from his own pay. The Baxi was the commander of that division. In Indore state. Baxi Kubhanosingh, and in Gwalior state shate, phalke and Jadhav were the commander of the divisions. In Malwa Maratha nobles or princes like MalharRao Holkar Mahadaji Sindhia YeshwantRao Pagar II were supreme commander of their respective cavalry (55).

In Malwa Maratha nobles or princes setup their military administration on the model of foreign military administration; viz in 1793 Ahilyabai entered in to an agreement with

The treaty of Surji Anjangaon with English, left DaulatRao Sindhia with truncated dominions and reduced political influence. The same case was with the princes of Dhar and Dewas. Their military powers were reduced and territorial loss was valued more than one crore and sixty lakhs of rupees in Hindustan and in the Deccan (58). But Yeshwantrao Holkar occupied a position in Malwa and actively exerted himself to collect his "Scattered forces" against English. He was a soldier first and ruler next. His army was at all time in active service. He opened a gun factory at Bhanpura. At the battle of Ujjain, Holkar had a force consisting of 14 battalions under plument 5,000 Maratha horse with 27 heavy and 42 light field guns. In the battle of Indore the strength was 10 battalions of infantry 5,000 Rohilla horse, 12,000 Maratha horse, 15,000 pathan horse with 98 guns (59).

The army of Holkar in 1817 consisted of about 10,000 infantry 15,000 horses and 100 field-guns independent of pencharies, subundies and garrisons. The army of Amirkhan had been long separated from that of Holkar. It was fully equal to the later in strength; as it consisted of 8,000

regular infantry, 2000 horses and about 200 guns, some brigades of which were drawn by horses (60).

LEGISLATION AND JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION IN MALWA:-

Legislation and justice, as now understood are of comparatively recent growth in India, which however had a system of its own from olden times for rendering justice to the aggrieved. The Mohamedan rulers of India built up the older fabric designed to administer justice, upper structure of Arabian origin and gave general authority in their possession all over India; the ^{Quazi's} ~~Quazi's~~ being the dispensers of Justice in Malwa, during the Mohamedan rule. During the period of mughal administration in Malwa, it was the duty of the imperial authorities to administer justice, which was rough and ready in most cases. They were also responsible for maintaining peace in the land, the only exception being that of the state, which enjoyed full criminal powers. In the case of these states, the burden fell on the shoulders of the ruler of the states (61).

There were no written code of law or uniformity of procedure during ^{the} these times of Malhar Rao I, Ranoji Sindhia Udaaji Pavar, Ahilya-bai and even during the time of Mahadji Sindhia. As regards the maintenance of peace and order, the local state officers investigated the cases or were submitted to a panchayat by them. If any party was dissatisfied with the decision, he could appeal to higher authorities and finally to the ruler, but unless he had enough influence in the court there was little chance for him to approach a ruler (62). Civil suits involving large claims were decided by the ruler himself, when both the parties were made to deposite large amount of money from Rs. 2000/- to Rs. 5000/- as a guarantee of their good faith and the justness of the claim. The state always lost; the state made considerable money out of such cases (63).

In case involving religious questions the opinion of Hindu or Muslim religious experts was taken. No regular courts of law existed. The local Kameviedars (Amins) were the head of the civil, criminal and revenue administration. Dr. Raghuvir Singh

says that "The justice administered by the Maratha officers was also very rough and ready. In civil cases attempts were made to effect a compromise and when they happened the state realised a certain sum as fees for its efforts to bring about the settlement (64). There was one institution i.e. Gyarapanch", the origin of which is traceable to the time. It was meant for solving the commercial problem; It was a sort of a civil court. Eleven representatives of the business firms were its members. Vacancies caused by death, bankruptcy, incompetency, etc were filled up by nomination by the maratha ruler themselves. It settled all the disputes arising between traders in connection with Hurdies and insolvency. The panchayats were also consulted in the matter of levying sugar taxes. The panchayats enjoyed considerable importance. They were invited for state-Durbars as honorary magistrates also (65). Elphinstone did not hold high opinion of the maratha panchayats. According to him "The panchayats themselves were open to corruption and to partiality" (66). But Wilson turned down the criticism of Elphinstone. He remarked; "Panchayats

however defective, they become the most just and efficient of courts that can be used under a native rule (67). A special feature of the maratha administration was that the Government did hardly interfere with the internal management of the village panchayats.

Justice was administered in a much simpler way, the community was left to its own resources to get its disputes settled. There was no written law, nor a code of procedure, through the ancient works of manu and yajanavalkya were often looked for guidance. Justice was usually based on local customs tempered with the Judicial whim of a Judge; whom it was not always difficult to mollify with gold. In their respective Jahagirs, the feudal lords enjoyed almost the final Judicial powers though some times, the cases were also sent up to the Peshwas were feudal chiefs under his effective authority. All these courts were original as well as appellate (68).

In villages all sorts of complaints were taken to the patil or patel. He after trying to get

the dispute settled through his own influence called on a few village elders to sit together and hear the parties. The s Ramsh or the summary of the evidence was noted by the village writer with the decision. The execution of which was a duty of the patel or the mamuldar. In both cases the main object aimed at was amicable settlement and arbitration was therefore the first step in the disposal of suit, if arbitration failed, the case was transferred for decision to the panchayet, appointed by the patel in the village. In serious and important suits however, it was the duty of the mamlatdar to appoint an Arbitrator or a Panchayet, the members of which were chosen by him with the approval and often at the suggestion of the parties to the suit.

In such cases the panchayet's decision was subject to an appeal to the peshwa or legal nobles or princes; Mayadhis in malwa. Elphinstone did not hold a high opinion of the maratha judicial system. According to him it was "very imperfect" (69). But there is no denying the fact

that "the system of panchayet or maratha administration left good deal to be desired from the stand point of the modern administration. These bodies were slow in action and uncertain in their decision, yet despite its primitive character and its liability to be improperly influenced, the panchayet was a popular institutions and the absence of a decision by a panchayet in any suit was almost always regarded as complete justification for a retrial of the issues. Among themselves, within the confines of the self-contained ancestor village peasantry did obtain a fair modicum of rude justice from the village panchayets" (70). There are ample evidences to show that efforts were always made to detect heinous crimes, such as murders and Decolities and to trace and punish the culprits reports of such proceedings being always submitted to the ruler. Elphinstone himself lateron realised that "High way robbery was punished with death. Women were never put to death. Brahmin offenders were straved or poisoned to death"(71).

AVAI ADALAT OR ADALAT JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN MALWA:-

During the period of TukejiRao II of Holkar; DaulatRao Sindhia of Gwalior and Ujjain, Khanderao I of Dhar, KrishanjiRao Puar of Dewas, a regular civil called the "Aval Adalat" or "Adalat" and its presiding officer was called Musim. In those days the Indore State, Dhar State and even Gwalior state had no law of its own; now it was the rule to adhere to the spirit of the laws in force, in British India in the disposal of cases. The Musim of Ujjain, Dhar and Dewas therefore acted on their own common sense and according to the local usage. In important cases the orders of the Durbar were secured; it did the work of registering the sale and mortgage and other deeds for which it charged a cash fee; as there were laws. Musim acted on his own common sense and practice side by side with the organisation of the Adalat a court of criminal justice, called Fausdari, was also established. Its presiding officer was the city. Fausdar a very important person who dealt with criminal work only. He was also ex-

officio superintendent of the city Jail(72).

DOYAM ADALAT

In the cities of malwa, the Doyam Adalat or the civil court was established. The Hakim's courts or civil courts, being thence forward known as the "Awal Adalat". In the Doyam Adalat, the city magistrates or munsiff. Magistrates were revenue officers were for administrative convenience vested with magisterial powers.

In the parganas managed by the state, Amins and Ijara tenure Kamvisdars did both the Judicial and revenue work (73).

No court fee was needed at the time of filling suits, but when the decree was passed and executed 12½% were deducted from the amount at court fee. Justice, as we have already seen was a good source of income to the state and even severe cases were ^{Sometimes} ~~some time~~ left-off with money payments. Both winning and losing ^{parties} ~~parties~~ had to pay, former in the shape of a "Nazarana", the later in the shape of "Jurmama". A fee also had to paid on the stolen goods, when recovered (74).

The difference in Malcolm's attitude towards judicial administration in Malwa was usually controversial. Malcolm described the system as "imperfect". In malwa he wrote, the Judicial system was a source of revenue to the rulers(75). But it is entirely unreasonable and illogical to affirm that the Judicial administration clearly indicates appanently for the protection, peace and security. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, three kinds of courts were established in addition to ahal and Doyan courts. They were as follows.

- 1) Wahivatdar's:- One for each pargana.
- 2) Zila courts :- One for each Zila or district
- 3) Sadar court:- This was the highest court of appeal with two judges. One was called the chief Justice and the other additional Judge. Though it was the highest court of appeal, the Durbar reserved to himself the power of revision in any decision by the sadar court in appeal case (76).

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION IN MALWA :-

Under unconventional sources of maratha revenue comes "Mluk giri, which was more or less synonym of

the term "Digvijaya" in sankrit. It was the most vital part of the Maratha finance. To be simple, plunder means, seizure of the goods of others by force. Thus the entire income, which was received with force appeared under the category. However Hindus never believed in plundering during the campaigns for digvijaya. If at all, there was any war, it was between the kings and not between the nations or subjects. The subjects of the either groups were not affected in any way. The war was not a total war and hence, the idea of looting the defeated and vanquished and vanquished did not springup among Hindus. However, the institution of plunder seems to have imerged with the appearance of Mohamed bin Kasim, Mohamed Gassani, Mohamed-Chori, Khilji and Mughals. The muluk-giri thus may rightly be raised a discredited mother of the / disreputed daughter of chauth which had to play an important roll in reshaping the destiny of the Hindustan (77).

It is not strange that the marathas were adopting this formidable practice of the muslims.

According to the Forbes, "Muluk Giri, although descended from a rural race, a spirit of enterprise, plunder and usurpation had become the prevailing characteristic of this restless nation, everready to engage in a desultory kind of warfare, which they conducted with great ease and profitted to themselves to the dreadful annoyance of their neighbours(78).

During the campaign of plunder, Shivaji or the nobles in Malwa were never wantonly cruel. Besides that the another source for maratha rulers in Malwa was pusaite, which was Government land. The lands of the Maratha chiefs were....

usually rented; for a period of ten, twelve, twenty and even thirty years. The principal articles of exports from malwa were grain, opium, cotton, coarse clothe, linseed etc. The traders at Malwa carried on trade and commerce with big town of Gujrat, the Deccan, Bundelkhand, Rajputana, and Northern India (80).

CHAUTH AND SARDASHMUJHI

According to the Shiv-Bharat, Shivaaji realised that "no man can without assistants, defeat a hostile army. A wise king therefore, should always be careful to maintain an army sufficient to defeat the enemies. But without a great deal of money even a great king can not maintain an army of that kind. To quote Prof. S.H.Sen, "a great maratha king had other alternative except to impose chauth. It would have been impossible for Shivaaji and other chiefs, to finance their army and navy from limited sources of his native alone. It was therefore, military contribution levied by a power without observing the formalities specified by modern International law" (81).

In Malwa region also Holkar, Sindhia and Paware collected the chauth from Rajput and restive

Thillis and nominal Mohamedan nobles and rulers in Malwa and Nimar. The chauth Mr. Ranadey himself hold that "A payment for service in the shape of protecting the country and preventing foreign aggression". He further compared it with the system of subsidiary alliance of Wellesley and remarked that "The demand for the chauth was added with the consent of the power, whose protection was undertaken against foreign aggression on payment of fixed sum for the support of the troops mentioned for such services(82). This view is however undeniable as regards the Maratha system of subsidiary alliance to quote Prof. B. N. Sen is enough. He says that "It cannot therefore be derived that the Maratha kings (Princes also) exacted chauth without undertaking the least responsibilities for the country's welfare and it should also be remembered that they never expected that chauth paying state to give up their diplomatic independence. Here lies the fundamental difference between the subsidiary system and the exaction of the chauth"(83).

Mr. J. N. Sarkar also holds the same opinion that "the payment of the chauth merely saved a place from the unwelcome presence of the Maratha soldiers and

Civil underlin e, but did not imposed any corresponding obligation to guard the direct from the foreign invasion or internal disorder. The maratha looked only to their own gain and not to the fate of their prey; After they had left. The chauth was only a means of buying off robber and not a subsidiary system for maintenance of peace and order against all enemies. This lands subject to chauth can not therefore be rightly called sphere of influence(84).

In the history of the chauth this event was certainly a land mark. Prof.Sen S.N. marking the radical change in the character of the chauth by introduction of these, Farnans has mentioned that (Chhatrapati) "Shahu received (chauth) as pension, what shivaji had demanded as a tribute and what Shivaji had offered as favour, Shahu undertook as an obligation". He further said that "Shahu by his acceptance of chauth and Sardeshmukhi, on these terms became full all practical purposes, what Shivaji never agreed to be viz, a servant of the emperor of Delhi"(85).

Besides Sardeshmukhi and chauth, there were many sources for the financial contribution for the marathas; some bearing on land, as those of plough carts, cattle, horses that called Khotevera (86). The maratha Government used to grant rent free land to Zamindars; Enamdars and Vatandars, for the services. In Malwa they were known as Bankars lands. The maratha Governments in malwa rented their lands for a period of ten, twelve and even thirty years. This was also a source of income for the Marathas in Malwa.

The principal articles of export from Malwa were grain, cotton, opium, Coarse cloths, linseed etc. The traders at Malwa carried on trade and commerce with the big town of Gujrat, the Deccan, Bundelkhand, Rajputana, and Northern India (87). In addition to these financial assessment, there was a tax of twelve percent on the sale of animals; included in Zakat. Not only in Malwa, but also in the Deccan the custom officer used to derieve a large income, while corrupting and cheating the Government. But the unjust officers were punished (88). There were

another tenure known as *aspanita*, which was Government Land. The lands of the Maratha Chiefs were usually rented. But the Government used to take back their *vatan* and their rights and give it to some other officer. This help to create a sense of responsibility among the village officers. The officers were also advised to look after the public welfare (89).

Thus Holkars, Sindhias and Pawars now set themselves to consolidating their holdings in Malwa and also to setting their relations with the princes of Malwa. But before the introduction of the British rule in the province of Malwa, the smaller states were found under "tributary obligations to Sindhia, Holkar or the Pavar chiefs of Dhar and Dewas"(90).

To sum up the conclusion with Dr. Naghuvirsingh that "the systematic organisation of the administration on modern lines in the Maratha states of Malwa; took place only during the latter of the 19th century"(91). Although the land revenue was the main source of the state income, proper care was taken while imposing the revenue. Sometimes a newly appointed tenant used to get, so me concession in the revenue. The basic intension behind this was that the *rayat* should not be the victim, of these disputes. Generally the Government was always sympathetic towards the *rayats*(92).

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CHAPTER. V : : : : :

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WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN MALWA : : : : :

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE OF 1857 IN MALWA.

It is true that the rulers of Malwa though indirectly supported to the British officers the people of Malwa and Maharaja who were participated in the War of independence against British rule. There was no organised movement for independence, when the Mutiny broke out and there was not spirit of nationalism when it was fought. Different Persons, princes, the Zamindars and the Sepoys fought for different reasons. Some fought for their lost principalties, others for the lost titles and pensions, while yet others fought for their caste and religion which were in danger, some fought for just the sake of plunders and booty. There were common grivences, but none too common to inspire the whole mass of mutineers, the Hindus, the Muslims and Sikhas, the princes the Zamindars, the rich and the poor.

However, there are ~~the~~ many unpublished letters of Mirza Begh the vakil of Maharaja of Sitamau, who wrote to Diwan Lala Hulasroy of Sitamau about the various activities of Sepoys, rulers and people of Malwa who were fighting against the British rulers for their independence. This unpublished correspondence through sufficient light on the activities in Malwa during the war of Independence, While writing about the disturbance at Indore State Vazir Beg writes to Diwan HulasRai, British Army and artillery are being set up around the Indore Cantonment. The Bandobast by British Govt. or by Maharaja of Holkar is around the Cantonment. No guarantee of life, but always in Danger. It is heard that Kashi and Mathura are been looted. Defencive arrangements at....

each gate of Sitamau should kindly be made. Don't trust anybody, foreigners or ours, for some ill persons may do harm to the city. Nothing more to say as you yourself are most learned. You will soon learn about the changed situations. Nimaheda has also been looted. Security is found nowhere. It is learnt today that Mansore and Mewati are looted by the local British people. Unessiness has grown to such an extent that there is no sleep at night. Hoping that the arrangements will be made at each gate. No one should be allowed to enter. Trespassers should be arrested and if someone shows carelessness in doing so should be punished"(1).

Another important event appears to have taken place at Indore Residency. Bhill regiment of Holkar's army aggressed Indore residency while communicate the details of the incident Vagir beg gives the information in words The Bhill regiment of Holkar's army aggressed Indore residency at about 8.30 a.m. today. In it, five English men two women, one boy and a Sikh soldiers havebeen put to death. Kothi has been looted and the Banglows have been put on fire. To Seikh cavalries of sinhere and six British soldiers alongwith Bhill platoon are away.

The market of Indore cantoment has been looted. Opium Kothi was attacked. Five English men and four Women were killed, two Englishmen were put in perâson of Holkar. An English man was killed by Sahadatkhani. The Union jack was cutdown and the cries in Holkar's name raised.

Six cannons of Maharaja Holkar have been sent to Maheshwara today. The reason is unknown. The ambassador from Dewas Senior and Junior and Dhar and Bundelkhand have come here four days before.

Twenty one people (Seven men, 6 women, 6 children and 2 soldiers) have been put to death. The dead bodies are still lying there. Dogs and crows have found their foods. They are enjoying their dinner of the deadbodies. For three days the door of houses are never opened. Two english men, three women and a child have been arrested. Dead bodies are kept under the care of the Maharaja. Boxes are being made for those bodies. General Shakespeare, Major Istagley and Captain Memo, with whom four hundred cavalries of Sinhere and two Bhil Companies fled away(2). The entire political situation in Malwa was almost disparate. There was frequent loot and arson army was in revolt while reporting on the situation at Indore vazirbeg says, " It is heard that the lootees fled away towards Bhopal, All the Kothies, Banglows, Hospitals and Residencies of the Munsies were looted completely. Doors, window glasses silverutencils etc. costing near about 3 to 4 lacks of rupees have been looted. On the second day the houses of Jamadars,

Mullabegs and Munshis Omedsingh remained unlooted. The same night the revolutioners burnt the cantongent and all British officers were killed. Only white-people(British) were safe in the forte. The reason of revolution was that the Maharaja Holkar. He rose the quarrel taking religious matters in.

Three compaines and three cannons were kept in perotection of the treasury of Sitamhow Cantonment(near Indore).

Shahadatkhani, the son of Hafeez Bakshi, was sent. But at the tea time the Senior officer went to Kothi and scolded him with disgraceful words and delivered such a heavy clap that there was a clear clap-mark on Shahadatkhani's cheek. Some people say that Shaha gave a stroke of sword, but no mark of wound or cut is seen on the officer's body. Then Shahadat went to the Palce. There the Maharaja gave an order to shoot him. 'He gave the order three times but no soldier did obey it.' , and Shahadatkhani was arrested. Then the three coys, that rose the quarrel were ordered to be shoot. But again the army disobeyed the order.

The armies of Holkar and British are ready. As the armies were being changed the British people stopped burrying the dead bodies, which there were doing before. Sahadatkhani was sent to the armies of Holkar and the British but no one was pleased with that. The reason of asking for more cannons is that after the officers were being killed by the army, eighteen cannons in well-condition were in charge of the eighty English soldiers in the fort. Morcha-bundi has been made at each road.

All the ambassadors of Bundelkhand fled away from the Chaawani and stayed at the Rest-house. They were ready to go their masters but they too were lotted with all their belongings, horses, Camels etc.

We too don't feel sefty. All the Sahukars went to Taibai (Holkar), wife of Tukoji Holkar-III. She took spear in her hand, rode the horse, had the Darshana of her forefathers and deities and went into the armies of Mhow and hers.

The Maharajas said that they were after her. The soldiers told that if the Maharaja was pleased they could easily conquer the fort of Mandsoor and Mahow and they would conquer the land upto the Satpura before Mansoon.

The Ahilya Platoon, Arjun Platoon and 20 Cavalries joined the army of Mhow for four days the wada is closed. None one in the city gets food or water. If anyone tries to have food or water is looted. One kills another, but none comes forth to object. 20 Englishment were killed out side the city. The Indians too are looted everywhere. The Bundeli ambassadors who had one or two hundred soldiers were also being looted.

The Maharaja of Holkar gave a oath to his and British armies, yet they could not resist from revolting. The treasury was looted by them all. Five elephants of Dhar, four of Senior Dewas and three of Maharaja Holkar were looted. The looted treasure was carried with the help of the looted-elephants and horses. The lootees went to Delhi on 5th July, via Mehdpur and Dewas. On the very day the Maharaja made a proclamation that if any one was

having the looted things should return to the Kotwali.
 The ambassadors and people of Bundelkhand ran away barefooted.
 The English captain Mayechand also ran away alongwith the
 cavalry. The Danga broke-out soon after reaching Sinhorre
 and all the men and women were killed. Kudisa-begum of
 Bhopal was killed (³३).

The Treasures got from the huts of Chamars, Bhangis,
 Balayees was decided to be sent to Mahow. Major Elliot, the
 Resident of Mahow said that he had no use of the money
 (What the would do of the money), when all his families were
 out to death. On the other side the Maharaja of Holkar sent
 all the men and women disguised in Maratha dress to Mahow.
 The army made a riot in Mahow, and burned the cantonment in
 which Major Harris was killed. A settlement had taken place
 among the armies of Indore and Kahow.

The explanation is not yet received from Holkar's side.
 It is heard that there will be a raid by the army of Indore.
 A plocamation has been made that those Rajas who have
 supported the revolutionaries will also be punished by the
 English Resident. Maharaja of Holkar had sent the treasure to
 K Mahow, but Rs.18,000/- were stolen from the collection
 too (⁴३).

Even the Holkar spent millions of rupees for the British,
 yet they don't believe in him. Everywhere the quarrels take

place. The Maharaja ordered to send all the weapons to repairing and do the parades unarmed. So the soldiers got annoyed. Then the Maharaja called the officers and said that he had told to bring only the damaged weapons. Still all the British are hidden here and there. Neither the army of Holkar is under his conteroll (⁵18).

News of the breaking out of the Mutiny at the large milliatry cantonment of Meerut on the 10th of May, 1857 and at Delhi during the same week, soon reach Indore i.e. 1st July, 1857. During the previous two or three months, emissaries from Northern India were reported to have been secretely coming to Indore and Mahow and trying to work upon the minds of the nativex-troops who rise against the British government. The Indore state troops especially the Mohamedans and the Purbias among them could not longer be considered trustworthy. But it was dangerous to show them that they were not to be relied upon. On the sixth june, 1857 Colonel Durand heard that the native toops at the Mahow cantonment had mutinied and were coming to Indore. He, therefore, asked Ganesh Shastri, The Indore Vakil to request the Maharaja Tukojirao Holkar-II to send some state troops for the protection of the Indore Residency. Two companies of Regular Infantry with three Nine-pounder Guns and 300 sawars were accordingly sent without any delay. The news proved false. The Indore Infantry and Guns were however retained, while the Sawars were sent back to their lines before

the close of June. At the Mah-raja Tukojirao-II's desire that Colonel Durand visited him on the Ninth June. The visit took place at Bhavanising Sarnowbat's House where the Maharaja was then staying (⁶24).

At about 9 in the Morning of 1st July, 1857, the Indore troops stationed at the Residency for the protection mutinied and opened fire on the Residency, under the instigation of Shahadatkhān, who had gone to them from the city that very morning with his associates. The mutineers then regained supremacy, they plundered the Residency in which they were joined by the 'Badmashes' (Bad-character) of the town. His highness's troops in the city were in such an excited state that they could not be depended upon. Those who were of other castes remained faithfully, but their number being very small, i.e. less than 1/10, they were told off to protect the palace, where some Europeans were sheltered.

The Mahow mutineers being joined by those of Indore committed atrocities beyond description, for two days during which time, they seized almost all the horses, bullockcarts and other sorts of conveyance on which they could lay their hands and on the morning of the 4th O'clock, having plundered the British Treasury to the amount of 5 or 6 lacks of rupees made off towards Agra via Dewa taking with them all the Guns and Elephants that were stationed in the Residency.

After attacking the Residency Shahadatkhān returned to the city with the intention of inducing the Maharaja to give the aid of more troops. Rao-Bhāusaheb hearing the news of the Mutiny, had hurried to the Sar-Nowbat's House as soon as Shahadatkhān came there, Rao-Bhāusaheb ordered that he should be shoot. As the Sawars forming the escort of the Maharaja were Musalamans, they did not carry-out the orders. But the infantry sepoy on duty, there arrested Shahadatkhān took him to the palace and detained him there as a prisoner. With or without their convince he soon managed to escape and went back to the Residency. Shahadatkhān became one of their leaders. At Agra all the assembled troops were completely defeated by the British troops. They then disappeared. Nothing was, since known or heard about Shahadatkhān and his whereabouts for nearly 17 years. He was executed under the ordinance of the Govt. of India in September, 1814 (⁷15). The history of Indore during that eventful period is very interesting and instructing. The genius of Rao-Bhāusaheb also saved another Maratha State Dhar, which was in Danger of extinction on account of suspicion, for those successful endeavours, mark his sense of approbation and admiration of the achievement of Rao-Bhāusaheb by bestowal on him of a Reward of rupees 25000/- cash and of a Neckless worth ⁸Rs. 200/- (⁸15).

WAR OF INDEPENDANCE OR MUTINY AT DHAR-STATE :Anandrao-III and Mutiny : (1857-98)

Yeshwantrao, the nominal ruler of Dhar died of Cholera in 1857 having adopted on his death-bed, Anirudharao Pawar, his step-brother, who succeeded as Nanandrao-III, a boy 13 years of age and quite unable to cope with the torrent of Mutiny and disaffection which had spread over the whole country and by which his ministers had been effected. Dhar town was taken by Kahow, on October, 25, 1857 and on the 15th of Junary, 1858 the state was confiscated. The confiscation became a subject of question in English and the state was ultimately restored, on the 1st May 1860, with the exception of the Berasia Pargana, which was over to the Began of Bhopal (⁹17). The state being a minor, the state continued under British supervison till the 1st October, 1864, Anandrao-III was good administrator considerate to his subjects and all the times, willing to contribute liberty, to works of improvement and charity. On him the people used to say, 'He was short of structure but large of heart, and indeed no truer things could be said of him.' The last Maharaja of Dhar was Udaji Pawar-III (1898) (¹⁰18).

MUTINY AT DEWAS : (i.e. in Senior Branch)RUKMANGADRAO AND MUNITY IN DEWAS :

Rukmangadrao was succeeded Tukojirao-II who died on 28th September, 1827. He ruled over Senior Branch of Dewas i.e. from

1827-1860. During the Mutiny, the State suffered some spoilation at the hands of mutineers, but gave all assistance to regugees. The British Govt. recognised the services of Rukmangadrao by presenting him with a Khilat and acknowledging his services, while a sum of money was granted a companasation for the extra incurred in keeping up a large force during these troublous time. The Thakur of Raghoghas, the holder of 20 villages on an Istimari Temure joined the mutineers. His Thakurat was therefore, attacked and the territory devided between two branches ¹¹ (19).

MUNITY IN JUNIOR BRANCH OF DEWAS :

HIBATRAO AND MUTINY : (1840-1864)

Haibatro was a good administrator and the affairs of the state prospered during his rule. The present place was built by him. He acted most loyal during mutiny. The territory consfiescated from the reballious Thakur of Raghogar was at the time devided between two branches. In 1859 he adopted his heir-Jiwajirao, last ruler of Junior dewas family was Malharrao Pawar (1892) ¹² (20).

MUTINY AT SINDHIAN-STATES:

JAYAJIRAO SINDHIA AND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE: (1843-1886).

On the 7th February, 1843-Jankojirao died, like his two predecissors he left no heirs. His widow Tarabai herself only 13, adopted a boy of 8 by name Bhagirathrao the son of Hammantrao Sindhia, who succeeded as Jayaji Sindhia. Both

the boy his adoptive mother being very young, the Mamasaheb, the late chiefs maternal uncle, was appointed regent with approval of the British government. The choice was an injudicious one. Such power as the Mamasaheb had possessed in the time of the late chief depended on his master and had died with him. Tarabai soon fell into the hands of Dada Khasgiwala, the comptroller of the house hold. He managed to attendants. While he bribed and cajoled the army and several of the nobles to support his designs. There would be no profit in endeavouring to follow the complicated series of intrigues which ensued and finally resulted in the dismissal of the Mamasaheb, who fled from the state. A curious feature of these intrigues was the precipitate marriage of young chief to the Mamasaheb's daughter on the 9th May, 1843, two days before he was formally dismissed by the Maharani and forced to fly for his life. Dada Khasgiwala, then became minister, the Maharani herself acting as Regent, the Governor General refusing to support the return of the Mamasaheb who was obviously unfitted for the post. Unfortunately the Khasgiwala was not only an unscrupulous scoundrel but a coward as well and the army to which the party in power owed its superiority, now an overgrown and undisciplined rabble, laughed the civil authority to scorn. The Dada in terror of military element attempted to carry favour with them by dismissing all who were known to have leanings towards the British and the rule of order. Finally an attempt was made to

attack Sironj, where the Mamasaheb was living. In August, 1843 therefore Sir Hugh Gough received orders to be ready to move on Gawalior at short notice. Colonel Sleemal had become resident at Gawalior about this time and he at once reported that the Dada was the root of all the mischief and must be removed. Disturbances continued and as a mark of displeasure the Resident was withdrawn and retired to Dholpur. The Resident then wrote to the Maharani, in answer to a letter begging him to return stating that the punishment of Dada, was an indispensable preliminary. The Dada however intercepted and withheld this letter. This act Lord Ellenborough considered an unparadonable insult and insisted on the immediate surrender of the Dada. Finally three chiefs who were anxious for peace contrived to arrest him the Darbar refused to surrender him (¹³21).

On this, the British force advanced. The Dada was then made over to the Resident. The Governor General however, now considered that the surrender of this man was insufficient and that more drastic measures were required before the evil would be eradicated. He therefore informed Maharani that the movement of British army could not be arrested until the Governor General had full security for the future maintenance of tranquillity, upon the common frontier. He then joined the force himself declaring his intention of settling everything at the personal interview with the Maharani.

The Governor General decided to hold this meeting in Gwalior Territory. The Darbar, however, represented that if the army crossed the frontier before the interview with the Maharani took place, it would be impossible to restrain the troops, who would consider it in the light of a hostile action. Colonel Sleeman wrote a similar terms to the Governor General however declined to alter his plan and the 26th December was fixed for interview which was to be held at Hingona. The war-party had however gained the ascendancy and refused to let the Maharani and the young chief leave Gwalior. The British force after waiting two days advanced. Sindhia's army took-up a strong position at Maharajpur, unknown to the Commander-in-Chief who had entirely underrated the force, he was dealing with. On the morning of the 29th the British force without taking most ordinary precautions accompanied by the Governor General and the Family of the Commander-in-Chief of elephants advanced leisurely on Maharajpur, where they proposed to break-fast. As they heard the village a masked battery opened fire and in a few moments the engagement became general.

Victory was at length achieved by sheer hard-fighting over 800 men in the British force being killed and wounded. The State troops fought with the greatest determination and the Commander-in-chief in his despatch

admitted that he had not done justice to the gallantry of his opponents. A minor engagement took place at Pannior on the same day (¹⁴~~22~~).

The state now lay at the disposal of the Governor General who with great political foresight made no attempt to curtail its territory or lower its status. A treaty was concluded. On the 13th January, 1844 by which the administration during the Chief's minority was entrusted to a council of Regency, which was to act upon the advice of the Resident, the army was limited in future 9000 men or whom not more than 3000 were to be infantry with 32 guns and 200 Gunners. The contingent force was recognised and fixed at 10000 men forming a compact force of all arms commanded by British officers. The Maharani who had been removed from the administration was granted an allowance and retired into private life. In course of events was an even one for the next 12 years. In January, 1853 the Chief was granted powers of administration. About the same date Dinkarrao, afterwards Raja Dinkarrao K.C.S.I., one of the ablest native stateman, India has ever had, become Minister. Under his rule the State made rapid strides in progress and prosperity. He reformed every branch of the administration repressed lawlessness with a high head, and when the mutiny came proved to the full his strength and loyalty.

JAYAJIRAO SINDHIA AND MUTINY : I

Sindhia was still a young man, when the mutiny broke-out, and it was the question of the greatest importance what he would do. Sindhia was young and impulsive and the feelings of his court were strongly 'Anty-British'. But he had too strong concillors at his side Major Charters Macpherson, the Resident and Sir Dinkarrao, who act and firmness proved to Sindhia that the British arms would triumph in the end, however much things appeared to be against them. Sindhia at once offered his own body-guards to Mr. Colvin at Agra. On June 14, the contingent troops mutinied at Morar and the Resident was obliged to retire to Agra. But before he left, he made his way to the place and impressed on Sindhia the urgent necessity for keeping his state troops and the mutineers contingent within Gwalior Territory. Thus achieving, 'A political triumph without, which India could hardly have been saved'. From Agra Macpherson continued to correspond daily with the Maharaja and Dinkarrao, and the chief had such faith in the Resident that, he patiently withstood the insults and reproached of his troops who were helping him to lead them against the British (20)¹⁵.

On May 30, Tantya Tope and Laxmibai, 'The Rani of Zansi'. appeared before Gwalior and called on Sindhia to join them. Jayajirao not only refused by without waiting for the column on its way from Agra lead out his troops against them on June 1. But his army except the Maratha Body-guards

went over on masse to the enemy and he and Dinkarrao fled to Agra. On the 16th June, Sir Hagh-Raose at Gwalior and after a fight lasting two days occupied the fort and town of Gwalior and the Lashakar. On the 20th Sindhia accompanied by Sir Hagh-Raose and Major Macpherson, was reinstated in his capital (24)¹⁶. For his services in the mutiny lands with three lacks a year revenue were made over to him, while he was allowed to increase his infantry from 3000 to 5000 men his artillery from 32 to 36 Guns. In 1858 differences arose between the chief and his minister and Dinkarrao resigned. A writer who saw him in 1858 says, 'I have seldom seen a man of greater intelligence and refinement of manners. There was in his serene, half sad, yet intellectual countenance, which would have made a noble study for Fra-Angelica, the face was as spiritual as those of his confreres were earthly'. In 20th June, 1886 Maharaja Jayajirao died and last Maharaja of Sindhia family was Madhavrao Sindhia (1886).

The Revolt or war of Independance of 1857 was crushed. India had a blood-bath Atrocities perpetrated by the mutineers and the English embittered relations between Indians and Englishmen. The Revold of 1857, formidable as it was ended in a failure, in a long run. Several factors contributed to its failure. The English Milliatry equipments were superior to those of the sepoys. The mutiny of 1857, which is the deviding line between old and modern India in social life and thought

no less than in politics, was followed by far reaching changes in the Indian policy of Britain ¹⁷(25).

The new middle classes created under British rule saw no hope in the 1857 Revolt. They found the representatives of these middle classes in the British ruler's and thought it more prudent in their own class-interest to follow them to back feudal horse ¹⁸(26).

ROLE OF RAJA BAKHTARSINGH OF AMZERA IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE OF 1857 IN MALWA.

Amzera is situated on 27 km. distance from Dhar District in (M.P.) Malwa. Amzera is supposed to be a small state in central India from 18th Century. Its area was five Hundred Eighty four square miles with the population of about 60,000. During the Mughal period Raja Keshavdeo, was the king of Amzera, but the state was governed by Akbar the great. Fifty two parganas were given by Raja Keshavdeo to Akbar, the great for his Empire. In 16th century Ramsingh the son of Raja Maldeo Rathod of Jodhapur established the independent kingdom of Amzera ¹⁹(27).

The condition of Amzera became precarious during the Maratha region in Malwa. But under the British rule Amzera regained its independence (28). In 1857 Raja Bakhtarsingh ruled Amzera, "British Flag" and removed it from the Agency (29).

Captain Atchi-son and his soldiers pursued the revolutionary forces for seventeen miles from Bhopawar. Mohanlal, led the revolutionary forces of Amzera (²²~~20~~).

Revolutionary forces destroyed the Agency house; the Hospital and post office in Bhopawar. Soldiers from Amzera initiated the revolt of Bhopawar. Some of the citizens assisted the revolutionaries. They destroyed the Buildings and escaped in the forest. The revolt of the soldiers of Amzera was a challenge to Bhopawar Agency. Captain Atichson; referring to the revolt; wrote in his letters, "The condition of Bhopawar is dangerous. The soldiers had plundered Bhopawar; aftering the buildings of post office, Hospital, and some other offices whatever they could gain in this plunder was carried away by them. Loading it on four elephants and two bullock-carts. All the pressure was taken away by them to Amzera (²³~~21~~).

The soldiers rejoiced a lot on their success in plundering great treasure. They declared with a great delight that dominance of the company was brought to an end. It was a matter of great courage for the king of Amzera. The declaration proved the king and his family relatives and the state as revolutionaries against the British rule (²⁴~~22~~).

Referring to the files about Amzera in National archives New Delhi as regards the revolt in 1857; it is learnt British officers had to escaped with the members of their

families from Bhopawar, during the revolt of 1857. They went to Zabuva in two Bullock-carts which carried Mrs. Stockley and four children, Mrs. Atichson and her children as well as Doctor, Chisolung (²⁵~~18~~).

British officers had started in the direction of Zabuva State. They were at the place which was on 27th miles distance; when the under the leadership of Mohanlal a troop of soldier from the king of Amzera, arrived at the place and checked the luggage of the British officers. They could not find out any valuable articles with them. The king of Amzera; had planned to arrest the British officer; but he could not succeed in it.

The soldiers from Amzera, had created terrible situation in Bhopawar. The event was influenced by the revolt at Indore on 1st July 1857. The king of Amzera had deep hatred about the British officers as usual. The revolutionaries had destroyed the buildings; plundered the property in Bhopawar. As they were very much aggressive assistant political agent was very much frightened due to the horrible situation created by the soldiers when the king of Amzera revolted against the British rule. A letter was written to Bhaktawarsing the king of Amzera; by Tukoji Rao II. The king of Holkar State which is found in the record of the office in Holkar state. The letter state that, "Tukoji Rao II, had, warned the king of Amzera that in case that it is his responsibility

to maintain good relationship with the British officers and to protect them. If the king of Amzera fails to protect the British officers, their relations with the the king of Amzera were impaired (²⁶~~34~~).

Maharaja TukojiRao Ordered his soldiers to arrest and bring living or dead the king of Amzera before him. Zakhi-Khumansingh with the three companies of infantry and the cavalry of two hundred soldiers were sent by Maharaja TukajiRao Holkar on this campaign (²⁷~~35~~).

The facts putforth by Shri.B.N.Luniya as regards Holkar's policy and relationship with Raja Bakhatarsingh the king of Amzera, are also very significant. In his opinion "The British Historians had very limited information about the relationship between Amzera and Holkar. Holkar's policy towards Amzera was very strategic" Shri.B.N. Luniya has clearly stated that Maharaja TukajiRao Holkar has written very stick letter to Bakhtawansingh". In his opinion the letter which was sent to Amzera by TukojiRao II, aimed at maintaining Holkar's good relationship with the Indore (²⁸~~36~~).

It is clear that TukojiRao had no intension to take serious steps against the king of Amzera. Though in his letter TukojiRao had ordered to arrest the king of Amzera "living or dead"; the orders were not obeyed Shri.Luniya, agrees with the fact that TukojiRao II, had no intension to punish Bakhatarsingh.

The revolt in Amzera led by Raja Bakhatavarsingh against the British rule shows that his role in the war of Independence was prominent. Raja Bakhawarsingh kept up his prestige by fighting against British rule with a great bravery with the help of very few soldiers. At last British Military officers crushed the revolt very cruselly on 11th and 12th July 1857. British officers compelled Raja Bakharsing. Diwan GulabRao, Arghi-ultra-khan and Wakil ChimanRao to surrender themselves. All of them were arrested and sent to Mahow Jail. Raja Bakhawatwarsing was giving the capital punishment at Indore on 10th February 1858, due to the crime of revolt (29).

I may safely conclude that the revolutionaries fought for the freedom of their country or states and the security of their religious faiths. The war of Independence of 1857 was a natural phenomenon was inevitable; if the Indians had the slightest trace of national or human dignity left in them. Had there been no revolution it would have been demonstrated that the Indian were devoid of all courage ? self respect, sense of duty and the will to live like human-being. It has been clear that not a single Indian state; Hindu or Muslim, would have escaped extinction; but for the war of Independence of 1857 upheaval in Malwa. It cannot therefore be rightly aserted that the war of Independence of 1857 in Malwa acieved nothing worthwhile. It did open the eyes of the English rulers and made them more careful towards their Indian subjects than towards their own interests.

- 1) Letter to Lala Hulas Roy the Diwan of Sitamau from Vazir Beg quoted from Shri.Natnagar Sodha Samthan (unpublished work) Tuesday 23 June 1857 letter N.1.
- 2) Letter from Vazir Beg opcit. Revolt of Holkar's army against British Rule 1st Wednesday 1st January 1857. letter No.2. Appendix No. 1 (Hindi.)
- 2)Ibid.Hindi.N.3 Sunday 5th July 1857 letter No.3
- 3) Letter from Vazir Beg opcit Loot by the local people of Indore Friday 10th July 1857. Letter No.4. (Appendix-04)
- 4)Ibid.No.5... 14th August 1857 letter No.5
- 5) Letter from NatNagar Shodh Sansthan Sitamau unpublished work of Vazirbeg letter No.6 14th Sept.1857 (Appendix 5) letter N. 6
- 6) V.K.Kunte Vol.I Note on Indore Administration pp.133 134.
- 7)Ibid.....pp.35, 37, 38.
- 8) V.K.Kunte Note of Indore administration opcit pp.138 39. (pub.1844 77).
- 9) Dhar States Gazetteer Text and Tables C.E.Luard Assisted by W.T.Kapes(from 1908) p.12
- 10) Ibid pp.13 14.
- 11) Dewas States Gazetteer(Senior Branch)(Bombay 1907 Edn.) C.E.Luard.Assisted by M.N.Phadnis and Sane. pp.7 8.
- 12) Ibid. pp.14 15.
- 13) Gwalior State Gazetteer Luard pp.30,32,37.
- 14)Ibid.....p.38.

- 15)Ibid.....p.39
- 16)Ibid.....p.39 40
- 17) Mukarji India Since 1857 p.41
- 18) Rebellion A Symposium p.117.
- 19) Brief History of the Natives States of Central India Agency 1908.
- 20) Shri-Luniya Phases of freedom struggle in M.B.1958 p.567.
- 21) Bhopawar Agency File No.728; letter No.299.
- 22) Shri.K.L. Shrivastav "The Revolt of 1857 in Central India, Malwa" p.141.
- 23) Correspondence Relative to movement of a force on Amzera; 30th Oct.1857. File No.366, 368.
- 24) Out rages committed by valayaties of Amzera; despatched to S.C.No.76 of 1857.
- 25) Foreign department, secret /25th Sept.1857; File No.644-646.
Lr.
- 26) Holkar Administrative Record letter No. 4895.
- 27) The letters reference of an unknown Counsellors, by John Diskenson Appendix E p.67.
- 28) A letter writing by TukojiRao Holkar-II to king of Amzera; letter No.4895, also Luniya, phases of Freedom Struggle in M.P. 1858 p.567 568.
- 29) Bhopawar Agency File No. 580, National Archives, New Delhi.

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CHAPTER - VI : :

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION : : : :

The strategical importance of Malwa was very great.

It was the link which joined north India with South India. All the military routes to the Deccan passed through it. The importance of Malwa increased with Aurangzeb's war in Deccan. The strategical importance of Malwa increased in 18th Century because of anarchy. ~~Malwa increased in~~ Malwa was never fully dominated by the Muslims,

even though it was once ruled over by the independent muslim kings of Malwa. Especially in the later days of that local sultanate, the Hindu dominion was rather a rule than an exception. The population was predominately Hindu. There was the original cultivating class with other similar Hindu elements (३).

During the career of the Peshwa Madhav Rao, he worked incessantly for the expansion of the Maratha Power. He knew no rest of body and mind and he did not allow his sardars Sindhia, Holkar and others to take rest. The growing power of the Marathas is a subject much to be lamented. The manner in which Shri. Ramdas Swamee, Shri. Brahmendra Swamee and Shri. Narayan Dixit

urged their discipline, Shivaji and Bajirao to strenuous exertions in this cause. MalharRao Holkar, Ranoji Sindhia and pawar and other sardars, who had impled the patriotic spirit of Shivaji and Bajirao-I, continued the glorious work with remarkable energy and enthusiasm under the successor of this great Peshwa.¹(1).

EFFECT OF LINGUISTIC MOVEMENTS:

The Maratha settlements in Malwa marks a new epoch in the linguistic history of the province. In the courts of the Maratha generals and officers, Marathi was used. This language was also being slowly influenced by its long contract with the Hindi speaking poeple. On the other hand, the local dialect of Hindi, ~~was~~ generally termed Malwi, which had already been a queer mixture of various languages like Virj-Bhasha, Gujrati, Dingal, or Rajasthani, Urdu and Persian was further influenced by the Marathai language. Vast hords of Maratha soldiers passed through Malwa at timescaped and stayed for months together while many of them settle in Malwa itself and they all influenced Malwi dialect. This dialect continued to be the chief medium of expression²(1).

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN MALWA:

Socially the Province of Malwa was greatly changed during this period(1698-1858). A new factor was introduced in the provincial life by the Marathas, who came not merely as a

Passing blast of raiders, but as selters and overlords.

They brought with them new ways of life and dress and above all different ideas. The coming of the Marathas to the province resulted in completely cutting off the connection with Delhi and Mughal empire. The Maratha influence penetrated the existing society and a mixed culture began to grow up. The Maratha tried to infuse more of the religious spirit into the Brahmins of Malwa. Special attention was paid to the character and learning of the Brahmins who conducted public worship in the temples. The modern form of turban has evolved from the Mughal or court turban with changes caused by the influences of the Maratha turban(3).

The material condition of the Maratha Raj was on the whole satisfactory, and disclosed in the Maratha records. Although then, the provinces were in more or less unsettled state, on account of military expeditions and frequent appeals to arms, the peasantry and people at large were happy as the burden of taxation was very light. The prices of food stuffs were very cheap, and consequently the cost of living was also very moderate, raw materials and food stuffs, wheat, cotton, oil seeds and others were not exported to the foreign countries on a large scale, but mostly remained in the local markets, thereby conducting to very low prices and cheap living.

The cultivators of the soil could not become very rich, but they were happy and flourishing. As Bajirao-I and his successors were more particular that standing crops should never be injured and forced labour should not be allowed. As the rulers lived in the land, money remained in the country and financial conditions of the people was satisfactory. Grazing lands for cattle, almost free were reserved on an extensive scale and forest rules were extremely mild, both these causes, conducting to a satisfactory and healthy breed of cattle, the joy of the peasantry and the source of successful agriculture pursuits (4). Under the government of Balaji Bajirao and his various nobles, Panchayats, the ordinary tribunals of civil justice began to improve. The Maratha dominion attained a its greatest extent under Bajirao's and his nobles' administration. In short the condition of the whole people was in their times improved and the Maratha peasantry, sensible of the comparative amelioration, which began to enjoy, have since bleasted the days of Nanasaheb Peshwa. (5).

As already observed, the Mughal tyranny and oppression originated from Mughal power, against which Marathas directed their attack. The saints of India produced 'A peace-ful atmosphere', so far as the Rayat, the population at large was concerned. There was no communal animosity as such. The credit of all this is due to the Hindu and Mohmedan saints in India.

Gold and diamond mines were worked very satisfactorily in the country. India was far famed for its gold and precious stones. Mr. Nathneil Smith, director of the East India Company represents that, 'The Maratha are still formidable from the situation and extent of their territories, the mildness of their laws, their inexhaustable resources, their numerous armies and their manner of working-war. By the wisdom of their treaties, the force of their arms and the asylum which refractory Raja's and Zamindar's have found in their protection. They have stretched their dominion from sea to sea'. In proportion as the power of the Mughal Empire decreased that of the Maratha gathered strength. Their annual revenues are estimated at 17 millions sterling. The Govt. is everywhere lenient and humane. No blood is shed, no outrage committed against the privilege of our common nature. The general material condition of the Maratha Raj on the whole was satisfactory (6).

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS:

The social condition of the Maratha-Raj in Malwa was interesting and remarkable. During the rule of Aurangzeb the State of various provinces of India was very miserable, and the extreme limit of social prostration was reached. The rise of the Maratha power checked the tide of repression and oppression and conducted to as happy, a social life as was possible in those times. It is not noteworthy as observed elsewhere in this work that the relations between the Hindus and the

Mohomeduns population at large were amicable, were never far from satisfactory, as several mohomedun saints had already prepared the path by their catholic preaching and high-ideals. Kabir Sahib and other ~~catholic preachers~~ and Worthy mohammedans saints have written much, which served to infuse a spirit of unity between the Hindu and the Mohomedun population (⁷~~10~~).

Brahmin and Maratha faught shoulder to shoulder against the common national enemy, throughout their long struggle for freedom. Shivaji the Maratha and the Brahmin ministers and counsellors in Malwa and the Brahmin Peshwa had very loyal Maratha generals fighting for the common cause. As stated earlier the founders of all the important Maratha states in the north were generals under Bajirao. Mahadji Sindhia (Maratha) and Nana Padnavis (Brahmin) acted as the two arms of the Peshwa at Poona. Among the heroes who sacrificed themselves for Shivaji were Prabhus like Bajiprabhu Deshpande, as well as Maratha like Tanaji Malusare. The hair-rising Ballads of these martyrs to freedom are still sung before thrilled audiences composed of all ranks (⁸~~11~~).

As regards foreign adventures, the state of society was extremely unsatisfactory. None thought of crossing the 'Kalapani'. Hence there was no knowledge of the outer world. Isolated in this way, the Indians were ignorant of the progress that Europe generally and England particularly had made. Lack of scientific knowledge was the bane of society.

Crude ideas about 'untouchable', were generally prevalent, though Bajirao Ballal was the first to appoint a Mahar to high Military position and was thus a solitary exception for in advance of the times⁹(12).

Another remarkable thing that strikes one particularly is the absence of communal riots, in those times. Fanatic rulers like Aurangzeb, Hyder, and Tipusultan took interest in forced-conversions of the Hindus and persecuted the Hindu population. But thanks to the preachings of the saintly mohomedon poets like Kabirshahib and others there was almost a total absence of communal riots, a fatal fight between the Hindu and Muslim population at large, with the rise of the Maratha Power, the forced conversions and cow-slaughter were of course prohibited. During this period, we find that the emperors of Delhi warmly received Hindu saints like the famous saints Tulsidas, Narayan Dixit and others and conferred rich Jahageers on them for the upkeep of their sansthans(10).

The most important and interesting instance of Maratha gentlemen being retaken into the fold of the hindu community by the orders of the Chhtrapati and the Peshwa. One Ramji Sindhia living in Benkote, was forcibly converted to Islam by the Huoshi(mohammedon). Ramji was sent to holy place of Bhimashankar, where the Shankaracharya readmitted Ramji into the community after the purification and issued to that effect. Accordingly Ramji must be admitted into his

caste as before after relating the matter to his caste-fellows without any loss of social status. During the days of Chhatrapati Shivaji, Bajirao-I and till the death of Nana-Phadnavis in 18th Century and Mahadji Sindhia in 1794, there was a some national spirit among the Marathas (¹¹~~14~~).

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In central India, Malcolm also found in the beginning of the 19th century numerous slaves in the house-hold of the Rajput chiefs and Brahmins, Many of them became slaves during famine or scarcity when men sold their children for bread, and others were stolen from their parants by Nanjaras or grain-carries. Female slaves were sold for Rs.40/- and Rs.50/- according to appearance and were not permitted to marry, a shameless traffic being carried in Malva. Slavery was another common social-evil. Malcolm mentions that in famine of 1813-14 Amirkhan Pendhari formed in Marwar a battalion of slave children and youths 1200 strong. Female slaves were still maintained here and there in the families of Rajpur Chiefs and Zamindars in central India but male slaves were not common and were generally treated more like adopted children than manials(¹²~~15~~).

Widow marriage was widely prevelent among the non-brahmins. They were forms of re-marriage-Pat and Muhurta. The pat seems to have been more informal. The mon-baumyas of Malve and the Maroo or the Jodpuri Brahmins, 'introduced this happy change in their social system'. Raja Jaisingh-II of Jaipur, Raja

Zalimsingh of Kota and some others, 'Rendered their names famous in the cause of humanity by their laudable exertions in the furtherance of the subjects'(13).

RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS:

The study of Maratha History is edifying from all points of view, Religious, political and cultural, The saints of Maharashtra and in Malwa came from all classes of society, Brahmins Shudras Mahars etc. They expressed themselves, one and all in the living language of the masses, yet the truths, they inculcated were as ancient and the vadas, the Upanishadas, the Epics and the Puranas, Like Budha, they exalted the spirit of religion above mere ceremonials, yet unlike Budha, they were hand in glove with orthodoxes. They reformed Brahmanism without ridiculing the Brahmins, they reinforced religion with Bhakti, without totally rejecting rituals. Most of them were married men and women, engaged in the ordinary avocations of life. Far from making people otherworldly, they inspired them to dedicate themselves in all they did to God. Under their inspiration, Shivaji dedicated all his endeavours and achievements to 'The king to kings'. He fought Aurangzeb all his life, but also taught him the wisdom of tolerance. He filled his people with a fervour to fight for 'Maharashtra Dharma' at the same time, he also demonstrated how starting from scratch, even an 'illiterate' patriot could build up a powerful state, efficiently equipped with an army, a navy and just administration.

Brahmendra Swami was spiritual guide of the Peshwa, Holkar, D Siendhia and Peshwa families and much respected at Chhtrapati Shahu's court. Maratha chiefs sought his intercession in their affairs. Mahadji Sindhia used to seek advice of Muslim saint Shah Mansur and used to prostrate himself at his feet. He spent much money in renovating temples at Mathura, Gokul Vrandavan and Pushkar(14).

Hinduism was still characterised by an attitude of toleration towards other faiths and adaptation to new environments and conditions. The general body of the Hindu Population were followed of the old forms and practices of religious worship. There were many worshipers of Shakti, 'The power or energy of the divine mother in action'. Worship of the mother goddess Durga, Kali, Tara, Manasa was widely prevalent in Bangal and eastern Malwa (15).

As the Maratha power extended over northern India, the peshwas, who liked all Hindu rulers, considered themselves supreme heads of all religious matters, were anxious to introduce reforms into countries where orthodox practices had been suffered to fall into neglect under Mughomedon Rule. The Sravana-Masa Dakshina and other Brahmin charities, the rigid enforcement of caste rules grant towards religious ceremonies for averting small pox, and other epidemics pilgrim taxes, ows and sacrifices are only a few of the topics illustrated in following selected documents. Hariram, Nandram and other Brahmins had without proper sanction readmitted to their caste, two persons who were following Mughomedum practices for about a hundred years in

past. The Peshwa asked Malhar Rao Holkar to consult learned Brahmins in this connection and deal necessary punishment to Nandram and other Brahmins for their irreligious behaviour⁽¹⁶⁾.

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS IN MALWA.

In Dhar, Indore and Dewas States the people assimilate their way of living more to that prevailing in the Deccan than in usual elsewhere in Central India. All the sardars, whether Maratha or Non-Marathas wore Maratha dresses, though this is still to a considerable extent the custom in these states, it has to a very noticable extent died out in Gwalior and Indore⁽¹⁷⁾.

It is almost impossible to draw a hard and fast line between religious and social matters, and the papers arranged under this headings refer mostly to the questions of caste, marriage and divorce conversion, witchcraft and miscellaneous topics of a similar kind. It is interesting to learn that the sale of intoxicating liquours was entirely prohibited under the Maratha Raj. The pass-port system, which we are inclined to look upon as a modern invention for the annoyance of travellers was in vogue a Brahmin-resident in Janjira complains that he is unable to attend religious function in Poona without a permit from the Sidi! Female servants were not allowed to leave their masters unless formerly discharged, a similar condition of semi-servitude, it will be remembered, obtained in medieval England¹⁸⁽¹⁸⁾.

Child-marriage was common with the higher-classes.

Polygamy is common only among persons of position and the lower classes such as gaolis, Chhipas, Chamars etc.

Widow's marriage prevails among the lower-classes. As a rule each man has two names, the Janma-Rashi-Nam which is used when the horoscope, is drawn-up and the balta-Nam or common name by which persons are generally known, the latter are of religious origin or merely fanciful and affectionate, such as Ramsingh, MalharRao, Tukaram, Damodhar, Bherusingh. The agricultural and lower classes are very fond of diminutives such as Rama, Bheruya, Sukha, and the like. Names of places are given after the deity or person such as Dewas from Deva-Vasini, Sarangpur from Sarangsingh, Gopalpur after Gopal, Gangakhedi after Ganga and so on (¹⁹22).

INFLUENCE OF MUSLIMS AND EUROPEANS DRESS:

Hindus before the influence of Western ideas had affected them more the Dhoti or Lion cloth, Mirzai or Bandi, a short-coat reaching the waist pagrisor turbans and Angarkhas, the lion coat Pajamas, Changoshi and other garments borrowed from the Mohammamedans. Now the use of Europeans coats, Trousers, Jodhpur Riding Breeches, Shirts, collers etc. was usual, the head-dress being commonly a safa or piece of delicately tied Muslim folded like Pagari.

In the rural areas at among the poor classes in the towns the males were the lion cloth known as Dhoti. In Northern Malwa they wear coloured Dhotis dyed red or ochreous colour(Kimminji). In Malwa made of coarse country-cloth called Khadi covers the upper part of the body, the usual Head-dress in northern Gawalior is the Safa(a piece of cloth wound round the head) and in Malwa the Pagri(Made of head-dress). Both sections use country-shoes, those of the Bundelkhand-side being peculiar for their high-flaps in the front and behind. The well-to-do classes also wear the Dhoti, but of superior cloth or else trousers, coats of various styles Safa or coloured Pagri and english-shoes. Eldest persons usually carry a Dupatta or a sheet hanging over their shoulders. The young generation however, now prefer to wear caps instead of Safa or Pagari, while the use of English-Shirts, coats, Waist-Coats, Trousers, Socks and boots is becoming very common in towns. The hair also is very often dressed in the English-fashion.

In Malwa and northern Gawalior the women wear coloured Lehenga(Petticoats) and a choli(Bodice) called a Kanchali in Malwa, on the upper part of the body, a piece of cloth called the Orhmi being used to cover the head and shoulders. On the Bundelkhand-side females used coloured Dhoti in place of Lehengas and Orhmis. In Malwa people generally take their meals twice, a midday and in the evening called Anthau. The

ordinary food of the rich and middle classes consist of Puri, Kachori, Halwa, milk Ghee, Khir Phalki or Cakes, meat, vegetable-rice. Curries-bara, Phulori, Dal, Dahi (Curd), with sugar and salt and sweet-flesh. Among the poor classes those living in Northern Malwa take Bajara and Jawar, Bread with vegetable and Dal in the winter. In summer and the rainy season they eat bread made of Gram, wheat and Barley and Gram with onions Dal and Vegetable and some times with only salt and Chillies. In winter those who have cows and buffaloes eat a kind of porridge made of Jawar or Kodan cooked in butter milk by some Mahera and by others Rabri (20).

In Malwa the people generally eat bread made of Jawar and Maize with pulses. Vegetables, onions or garlic and Rabari of Maize porridge. People in northern Malwa and on the Bundelkhand-Side use the flowers of the Mahua as a luxury, the fresh flowers being eaten in the hot season and the dry flowers at other times. The latter are purchased and ground and then made into a form of bread. The Bhills and Shaharias live on Maize Jawar and a large number of Jungle-roots and plants. The Mahua flowers and Maize are looked on by them as a great delicacy. In Malwa the houses are of bricks or of stones. A plinth of Basalt is first laid upon which a frame-work of wood is placed, the intervals of the frame being filled up with bricks or mud. The roofs are either tiled or thatched, occasionally flat roofs of cement are made with in big house. In Madindasor and Ujjain the upper stories are often ornamented by

Picturesque carved woddren balconies and projecting windows.

The hute of Sharias and Bhills are made of grass and leaves(21).

Because of the nobility and whole heartedness of the Maratha and non Maratha nobles in Malwa Maratha princely rule could have harmony in administration. In order to save themselves from the Mughal anarchy they joined hands with the Maratha princely rulers. It was regarded as a spring board by the southern powers and inded the stage was prepared for showing their mights by Maratha and non Maratha nobles. Furthermore, nobles in Malwa a give a clear idea of the organization of army and a enjoyed a free hand in the administration. Their co operation in administration and being alongwith greatly ^{helped} ~~helped~~ the Maratha rules.

Infact the Maratha rulers were new in this regime and unknown about the way of life and culture of the Malwa people. If they could havenot got the help from the nobles it had been very difficult for Maratha rulers to rule and establish law and order. So it is clear and obvious that the Maratha and non Maratha nobles, whose nobilities and works are given below in briefly; had a lion's share in the Maratha princely rule in Malwa.

SOME PROMINANT MARATHA AND NON MARATHA NOBLES IN MALWA.

After the grands of swarajya, Chouth and Sirdeshmukhi of the four subhas in Malwa, were obtained in 1732. A great anarchy spread in the Mughal provinces in India. However, Maratha and Non Maratha nobels played their dominant role against the Mughal anarchy and disorder in Malwa. Malv Dosh passed from one hand to ~~next~~ another as the political forces worked at Delhi. The whole pwriond seems to be a period of diplomacy. Malav Dosh was the Chess board for these powers. It was regarded as a spring board by the southern powers. And indeed the stage was prepared for might drama by maratha and non maratha nobles which was enacted duly on it(22).

The maratha chiefs benton collecting their Chauth, did not care to see in what manner the territory was being administered. As Jadunath Sarkar points out that, 'the Maratha government in hindustan had no competent civil service, not stable government and no wise foreign policy'. Vasudeo Shashtri Khare is in agreement with Jadunath Sarkar. When he regretfully remarks that, 'In peacetimes Maratha rul prevailed everywhere, in the times of confusion it was nowhere(23). However, Maratha nobles and non maratha nobles played their prominent role for the development of Malwa.

Bakshi Khomansingh had the good fortune of being selected as the late Maharaja tukojiRao-II's school-campaign. Khomansingh began his public career as a Koomedan or commandant of cavalry, having previously gone through the necessary training for that purpose. In 1852, Khomansingh received a Khilat a Jahagir and the appointment of Bakshi (Colonel of cavalry). Although he rose subsequently to the higher offices of commander of his highness's forces, minister and state-councillor, he has always been known as the Bakshi-Saheb. He devoted himself, heart and soul to the organisation and reforms of his master's army. He founded a Military school and wrote a valuable work on the Military movements of cavalry, thus keeping up the ancient reputation of the Maratha house in general and Holkar cavalry in particular. This work elicited praise from the Govt. of India as well from the Resident at Indore and other British officers. Rai Umeidsing said, 'Man of the sword' as well as those of 'Man of the men'.

During the mutiny, the services of the Bakshi Khomansingh were second to none in the state. Sir Robert Hamilton, referring to his services at this critical time reported that, 'Khomansingh commanded all Holkar's cavalry, they were as the Mahidpur Cavalry (Malwa contingent) the descendants of the old Holkar-house under the Gaforkhan, who held Jaora as Jaidat for their maintenance.

The Malwa contingent cavalry went-off bodily to Delhi after murdering their officers and with them went many of those under Khomansingh, still he kept all the Hindus and Maratha together with many Mohomendans and with them did really good service. His personal activity and judgement enabled him at a critical time to show his worth. Belinging to the English party, his position was very critical. Colonel Keatinge reported to Sir Robert Hamilton in the following terms, 'I have the honour to request you, to bring to the notice his-Highness, the Maharaja of Holkar, the very efficent aid, I have received from Bakshi Khomansingh who commanded the Maharaja's troops with me. The Bakshi has shown himself a most intelligent and steady officer, and above all a most punctual one. I feel sure that whenever it may be his good fortune to command troops under fire, he will do credit to the govt., he serves and the men he commands (24).

This report gave great satisfaction to the Governor General at the Darbar held by the Viceroy Lord Canning at Jabalpur in 1861, conferred a Khilat on the Bakshi, worth Rs.5000/-. In 1871 the Bakshi paid visit to England and travelled on the continent. At the Delhi Imperial Assemblage Khomansingh was made a C.S.I. Sir Henry Daly said, 'I am delighted that amongst the companions of the Satara of India there is another good man and troop'. At the close of 1879, Khomansingh was appointed Minister, the duties of

which exalted office, he performed until he was relieved, by Rao-Bahadur Nana Moroji in 1885. On the retirement of Bakshi Khomansingh, Sir Hepel Griffin said that, 'I appreciate your excellent qualities, your great intelligency and honesty, and I trust you will allow me the honour of always counting me among your friends'. In 1891 the venerable Bakshi advancing in years, retired to enjoy his penison by return to Indore in 1899. His energy at the age of 71 is an example to all²⁵ (25).

MARATANDRAO KRISHANRAO KADAM BANDE: (Maratha Noble-Indore)

Martandrao Kadam Bande enjoys from the state of a personal annual allowance of Rs.1860/- from Devas(Jr.Branch), he receives Rs.300/- and from Malthan Rs.200/-. The reason of these unificant grants is that his grand father Martandrao was married to Kashibai, the sister of YeshwantRao-II, on the Malthan-side. He was born in 1888 and being a nephew of Krishanrao he succeeded him by adoption in 1986. He has one brother also. These Kadam Bandes'claim to be descendents of Kanthaji Kadam Bande the well-known brave sardar with Bajirao-I. BalawantRao is the founder of the family at Dhar. Martandrao's estate is heavily encumbered with debt (26).

BARWAHA (Non-Maratha noble)

The Rana of Barwaha traced their origin to the Tomar Clan of Rajput, who once held away towards Delhi. There after they came under British rule, but were ultimately transferred to the suzerainty of the Holkar, the term of the exchange of territory between 1861 and 1871.

BOLIA NOBLES: (Non-Maratha Nobles)

The Bolia family descended from Vithoji Bolia an officer of Peshwa Bajirao-I, who came into the prominence as a Suba of the Holkar's early in the 18th Century. Vithoji's first connection with Malwa was in 1725, when he was deputed to Jhabua to collect the arrears of Tanka due from that chief. Govindrao Bolia of this house became a Saranjami Jahagirdar of Maharaja Holkar and received lands in Malwa.

NANDLAL MANDLOI: (Non-Maratha Noble)

As some historians regard Rao Nandlal as a link between the two historic currents of the Marathas and the Rajputs. Perhaps this is the most apt description of his role. Rao Nandlal was receiving messages from both the powers. Both of them were sending plenipotentiaries Vakils to him for negotiations. He was definitely against the Mughals and was looking upto the Rajputs and the Marathas for his freedom. He was the local point in Malwa Desh of the new nationalism which was born as a reaction against the Mughal tyranny. It is surprising to find that though important historians have edited and shifted the papers of the various Dafters and state still no letter or reference of the Mandlois is found in them, as some of the letters are replies to the Mandlois. Mandloi's papers are a store-house of information regarding the history, administrative system, social and economic condition and cultural tempo of Malwa Desh. The Mandlik per Mandloi papers

contained letters from the Mughal emperors and his subhedars, letter from Jaipur Darbar, letter from Nizam, letter from Chhatrapati Shahu and all the architects of the Maratha confedracy. The sultans of Malwa and Mughal subhedaras retained the position of these Manaliks. They began to be known as Mandlois and Choudharys. In short Mandlik or Mandloi in Indore played a very prominent role for giving assistance to the Marathas. Though Mandlois are nobles of Holkar dynasty, still they are having solid position in Holkar family. During the period of 1857 the Mandliks enjoyed the confidence of the rulers and had a hand in the administration, but after 1857 bureaucracy took the charge of administration and the Mandaliks faded into the back-ground⁽²⁷⁾~~(30)~~.

NOBLES OR BAHAGIRDARS IN PAWAR FAMILY (Jr. and Sr.)

NIKANTHRAO ANANDRAO SATHE. (Maratha of Jadhav-clan)

He is the adopted son of AnandRao-II and the fourth descendent of Stawajirao, the father of the famous Mainabai Pawar of Dhar. Satawaji lived at Baroda being related to Govindrao Gaikwad through his wife Saibai, who was the sister of Govindabai, the wife of the Gaikwad. But the family is said to have settled at Dhar on the marriage of Mainabai with AnandRao-II. Nikanthrao succeeded to the estate by adoption after the death of Anandrao Sathe in 1896. The estate is encumbered with debt. NarayanRao Sathe, represents another branch of Satawaji family, through his second son Nilkanthrao. His grand father Kishaba helped Rani Mainabai in putting down

an insurrection but was killed while fighting with the Holkar's forces under Ramdin district. His succeeded is adoptive father Ranoji. He enjoyed also a cash-allowance of Rs.276/- a year (²⁸1).

RAMCHANDRAO ALIAS NANASAHEB SHINDE;

(Jahagirdar of Kardia) (Dhar)

He was formerly the palace-officer. He belongs to the solar-race and bears the title of Ravirao. His grand father's younger brother Laxmanrao alias Nanasaheb was adopted by Rani Mainabai, as he was a son of her elder sister-Thakubai and he was named Ramchandrarao power. In consequences of this event a Jahagir in perpetuity was bestowed upon Mahipatrao, the father of Ramchandrrao of Dhar. Nanasaheb succeeded his father in 1889.

RAMCHANDRARAO ELWANDE; (Karola-Jahagir)

His great ancestor Satavaji was married to the eldest sister of Mainabai, wife of AnandRao-II. He was a Killedar at Mandu. He was killed while fighting with rebels whom Murarrao had incited to rise against the state. So his son was granted the village in Dhar paragana. The estate is under debt. Ramchandrrao was 22 years old and has lately passed the F.A. examination from the central College at Banaras.

SATYASHNEH PAWAR OF MALTHAN: (Parmar of Rajput by-clan)

YeshwantRao alias Satyasaheb is the eldest son of Sambhajirao alias Abasaheb and half-brother of Udajirao Pawar- the Raja of Dhar. He is the 5th in descent from the well-known Udaji Pawar who was a prominent figure in the military campaign of Bajirao-I. His grand father YeshwantRao alias Babusaheb was an stute statesman who rendered valuable services to the Dhar state in the time fo his son YeshwantRao-II, the Raja of Dhar, who requited his generously. Bhausahab had three wives Jamanabai Anandabai, and Yamunabai or Taisahab. The first of the Mother of MalharRao Pawar who was adopted in the Dhar family under the name of YeshwantRao. The second was the mother of Anirudharao whom YeshwantRao-II of Dhar deopted under the name of Anaddrao-III. The third had a son sambhajirao alias Abasaheb. Abasaheb had five wives. The first had two daughters and a son named seturam. The second had a son namdd Satyasaheb, the third had also left a son by name Bhagojirao, who by adoption is the rular of Dhar. While the fourth and fifth were childless. Satyasaheb reached the age of Majority and has therefore been recognised as the head of the family. The Estate, being heavily encumbered has been taken under the supervision the Darbar²⁹(~~32~~).

NOBLES OR JAHAGIRDARS IN SINDHIA FAMILY:Heroic deeds of Ghorpade family:

The founder of the Ghorpade family was Rana Jaisingh of Udaypur, who reigned in 1681 AD. He was the son of Rana Ajaysingh, who was descended from Bapa Rawal, the famous

ancestor of the Rajput. In obedience to his father's wish, he went to Deccan, about the year 1340 AD. When his cousin Hamir, succeeded to the Gadi of Udaypur. His son was Deeli-psingh, who had a son called Shivaji after whom came Bhairavji who had son called Devraj, whose son was Ugrasen. Maloji, was a son of later remained under the chief of Bijapur. He took possession of an almost impregnable fortress in Konkan, by tying a rope around the waist of a Ghorpad, (An animal) and it was owing to this circumstances that his original Rajput surname was changed to Ghorpade. Maloji had four son, the eldest Bajji being the founder of the Mudholkar family. The second son died childless before his father. The third son was vallab a singh and the fourth and the last was Suggaji, who had a son named Bhosji, who descendents assumed the surname of Bhosaley. It was in this family Maharaja Sri Chhtrapati Shivaji was born. The descendents of Vallabhasingh were afterwards divided into three different sub families. i.e. Waghaporekar, 'Sondhoorker' and Kapsikar'. They lived under the chief of Bajipur for three generation after the death of Vallabhasingh(30).

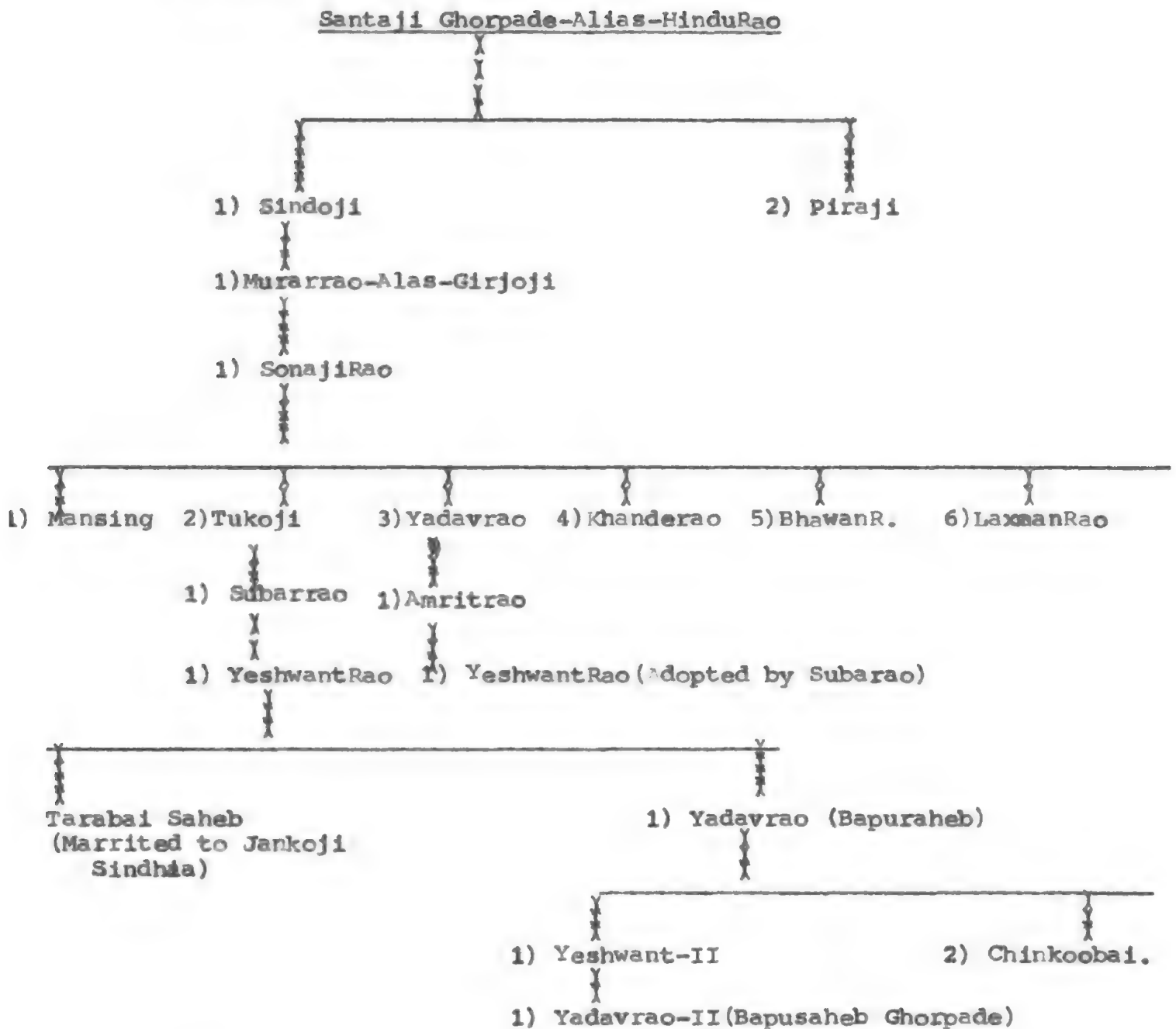
Baroji gave assistance to Chhatrapati Shivaji in Establishing the Hindu power. He had a son whose name was 'Santajirao Ghorpade' and who used to remain much in the company of Chhatrapati sambhaji he distinguished himself in the Mughal territory of the Karnatak and established the claim of the Maratha to couth and Deshmukhi. He was therefore honoured with the title of 'Akhandit Laxmi Alankrit Rajamanya Rajashri Senapati'. He was granted the village of Waghapur, with Inami

Sirdeshmukhi, togetherwith all the usual rights in perpetuity. Since that time the family has been called 'Waghpurekar'.

Whenafter capturing Chhatrapati Sambhaji, Aurangzeb wat at war with the Maratha. Santaji Ghorpade, by his bravely resurd Chhatrapati Rajaram from the hands of the Mughals and carried him safely to the fortress of Jinji. For thus preserving the Hindu prestige, Chhatrapati Rajaram conferred on him the title of 'Hindurao Mumlakat Madar', and granted him Jarnpatka and Tenk-Nishan, as marks of distinction. He captured the Moghal sardar Alivardikhan defeated the Mughal army at Wai and Miraj and took entire possession of those places. He established the Maratha rule in the Bajapur Territory and totally defeated sardar Kashmirkhan near Daudharee fortress. According to C.S.Baley 'When Santaji Ghorpade became powerful, Dhanaji Jadhav became jelous of him and thus ill-feeling was created between them. Consequently HinduRao(Santaji Ghorpade) set out to return to the Karnatak with his followers. Dhanaji Jadhav sent his men to attack him at he was murdered, while bating in the stream, this occured in 1698 AD.

However according to G.S.Sardesai, 'Chhatrapati Rajaram and Santaji Ghorpade had become gradually so estranged that a sever alteration took place between them, which soon rose to bitter invective. 'This was too much even for the mild-temper

of the king, Santaji was dismissed from his office of Senapati and Dhanaji Jadhav appointed in his place' (^{3/}~~24~~). Chhatrapati Rajaram ordered Dhanaji to capture Santaji and bring him the prisoner before him. Santaji then fled away and to save his life, he made his way into the hills of Mahadev, east of Satara. On hot noon in June, 1697 as Santaji came to a spring and was having his bath some armed men suddenly fell upon him, cut-off his head and brought into Nagoji Mane, who immediately rode with it to the emperors' camp at Brahmपुरi and presented a head to him as a Emperor had already advertise a prize on Santaji's head. In return Nagoji mane obtained the promised reward and had some Jahagir. The death of this unmatched hero (Sanjaji Ghorpade) was a severe blow to the Maratha fortunes. Hindurao had two sons. Ranoji and Piraji, who ruled independently and made raids into the Mughal territories. Ranoji's son Sidhoji Captured Sondhur, Gajendergarh and other places.

GENEALOGICAL TREE:

Sidhoji had four sons viz: Daulatrao, Gopalrao, Morarrao and Bhujangrao were asked by Chhatrapati Shahu to accept their former Sardarships. Morarrao established the power of Chhatrapati Shahu

to accept their former Sardarships. Morarao established the power of Chhtrapati shahu in Karnatak in 1740 and gave help to Raghuji Bhonsale in capturing Chand-Saheb at Trichinoply ³² (25).

He was called 'Girzoji and he had a son named Sonaji, who was granted a Sanad of Waghporc by Shahu Chhtrapati in 1734 AD. His son Sidhoji alias Amritrao resided at Satara. Shidhoji had two sons and Subarao who was one of the Tukoji's son was in the Peshwa's army. He adopted the son of ~~his~~ his cousin Amritrao-Alias-Yadavrao. Bajirao had given the Sansthan of Sondhoor to YeshwantRao but he declined to accept it. After the down-fall of the Peshwa YeshwantRao was married with Jankoji Sindhia. Since that time the family had always been connected with the Sindhia-family. YeshwantRao went to Gawalior with his own paigah Danka Nishan etc. He was made a first class sardar. He was also allowed to wear the golden 'Toda' on his turban. He was given a palki, and elephant and Ambari. All theses were granted to him a marks of honour.

In 1783 Jankoji Sindhia granted him a sanad of two villages Koregaon and Moth in the district of ^Ahemadnagar. After the death of YeshwantRao, Yadavrao Alias-Bapusahab much help to the Jayajirao Sindhia against the mutineers in the mutiny of 1757 ³³ (26).

ANGRIA FAMILY: (Maratha Noble)

The chief seat of the angria is Alibagh district. & and Kulaba, and the chief person was Kanhoji Angria. Kanhoji Angria had two sons, Manaji and Yes Haji Angria. After Kanhoji's death Manaji Angria succeeded to the Sansthan. Manaji and Yes Haji jointly managed their affairs with great ability. Kanhoji Angria was given the title of 'Vazarat-Mab-Sirkhel' by Chhatrapati Shahu and the Angria family is still known by that title. After Manaji's death his heir, Yesajirao Angria succeeded him and his two sons named Baburao and Mavjirao as well as a daughter named Manabai. As Manajirao and Baburao had no claim to the Sansthan and consequently no hope of securing it for themselves, they left Alibagh and went to with their sister Mainabai Sindhia, the Mother of Daulatrao Sindhia. They met their sister and nephew Daulatrao at Ujjain. When Mahadji Sindhia went to Delhi to visit mughal Emperor, Baburao Angria accompanied him and was much honoured and respected.

Mavjirao had two sons named: Sambhaji and Sekojirao Angria. However, Mahadji Sindhia wished to keep Baburao Angria near him, he gave him Bhowrasa Neori and Penvihar district in Mahagir, The title of 'Sawai' was given to him in addition to the title of Vazarat-Mab-Sirkhel' which was confirmed on him by Chhatrapati and for this reason the Angrias are styled, 'Vazarat-Mab-Swai-Sirkhel' Chhatrapai Shahu gave them Zari-Patka, horses having gold and silver ornaments etc. to the Angria family, but the Maharaja of Gwalior added the Silken Luggy.

As Baburao had no issue, he adopted his brother Mavjirao's son-Sambhajirao. As Malwa was at that time very much troubled by Deccois, it became Sambhajirao's duty to keep them in order. In this, he proved himself a man of capacity and determination. Sambhajirao enjoyed the revenue of Bhowrasa, Neori and Panbihar districts. Besides he was given a part of the income received from the octroy office at Ujjain, the old garden at Lushkar, in which are the tombs of the Angria family and the jungles of Surela and Bajjon for the pasturage of his animals, all of which are still in the possession of Angria Sansthan. In the reign of Jankoji Sindhia, Sambhajirao Angria was chief secretary of the state in the capacity, he received a salary of Rs.6000/- a month. As Sambhajirao Angria had no son, he adopted Appasaheb in 1839 and named him Baburao Angria. Sambhajirao Angria died in 1846 having lived to the good old age of 97 years.

BABURAO ANGRIA (Vazrat-Mab-Sawai-Silkhet Bahadur)

Baburao Angria was descendent of the Garund family, he being the grandson of Jijabai the daughter of the Sambhajirao Angria. As Sambhajirao had no son he adopted Appasaheb Angria after the death of Sambhajirao Angria '1846'. Appasaheb Angria was given Darbari-Clothes at the state of Darbar by Jankoji Sindhia (34).

In 1866 Baburao Angria was employed in the Military department of the state. In 1887 he was selected as a member of the council of Regency and during the same year, he was gazetted an officer of irregular troops in Sindhia's army, while in 1889 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief. Appasaheb Angria having no male

issue, proposed to adopt the son of Manaji Angria Alibagkar, his own brother. He adopted Trimbakrao, the son of Manajirao Angria. Baburao Angria made arrangements for Trimbakrao's English education. However, on the 3rd November 1891 Appasaheb died at Bombay. Gunvantabai Angria secured the permission of Madhav Rao Sindhia and she adopted Trimbakrao Angria (Balasaheb Angria).

SAMBHAJIRAO ANGRIA (Vazarab-Mab-Swai-Sirkhel)

Manajirao Dadasaheb Angria Alibaghkar was one of the descendants of the famous Anangria-family, who were Raja of Kulaba and who made themselves famous by their feats of Arms. His wife Anandabai in Feb. 1876 became the mother of a son who was named Trimbakrao Balasaheb Angria. When Trimbakrao was in his fourth year, his mother Anandabai died (1880). Manajirao Dadasaheb Angria the chief person of the Angria family of Kulaba, was given six hundred rupees per month by the central government. And thus Angria family became nominal during the time of British period.

SITOLES FAMILY; (Maratha Nobles)

The sitoles were the descendants of Sisodia Thakars and were of Rajput lineage. They were called 'Sitoles' as some of their ancestors entered the Maharashtra country in ancient times. They belong to a noble family of Maratha. It appears from the various charters, grants, Sanads, and inscriptions, on the monuments of the deceased ancestors of the family that they have enjoyed the 'Deshmukhi Rights' in the Deccan for over 1200 years without interruption.

During the administration of Chhatrapati Shahu, Malujirao Sitole acquired the good-will and thereby procured from the same Maharaja, a Sanad Dated; Shaka 1630 (1718AD). In the time of the Peshwa Malojirao made himself in hard-fought battles and the Peshwa gave him an extensive tract of land in the Deccan. Mahadji Sindhia requested the Peshwa to lend him the services of Sidhojirao in his expedition towards Northern India. Thus both families made their way to Gwalior and there can be no mistake in asserting that they were contemporaries in the early days of Gwalior³⁵ (36).

Mahadji Sindhia gave his daughter Balabai, in the marriage to Ladoji Sitole, son of Sidhoji Sitole with the consent of Peshwa. Hence the family of Sindhia and Sitole became connected with each other, with relation as lasted for over 125 years. After the death of Sidhoji Sitole, Mahadji Sindhia informed the emperor Shah-Alam of the valor and honesty of Ladoji-Rao having distinguished himself on several occasions secured the good-opinion of the emperor, and was given a Farman or Charter in 1785 AD by which Jafarabad, Bear and Baleghat parganas were offered to him in Inam. Mahadji Sindhia accompanied by Ladoji Sitole, marched through Rajputana and arrived at Poona, where he was given five villages by Peshwa in 1792 AD.

The next year Ladoji Sitole breathed his last. He had two sons, Sohojirao and Laxmanrao. Sidhojirao Sitole-II went to Delhi to visit the emperor who conferred on him the title 'Umadat-ul-Raja Refendra Sidhoji Sitole Raja Deshmukh Bahadur Rustomjung' together with an honorary title of 'Mansabshah Hajari and Punj

Hajari Sawar'. On the maintainer of 6000 infantry and 5000 cavalry. For these he had farman dated 1793 AD. On the same occasion a chieftains dress and all the appendages of Sardarship as Jaripatka, Saheb-Naubat etc. were given to him.

In 1796 AD., Daulatrao Sitole, Sindhia granted him a Jahagir as follows: viz: Hurda, Hoshangabad and other villages in Tonk Taluka. He was succeeded by his younger brother Laxaman Narsinghrao Sitole who had been engaged in battle in company with Daulatrao Sindhia. When Daulatrao Sindhia sent an expedition to Narwar, Laxaman Narsinghrao Sitole was the first to occupy the fort, with the assistance of his relative, who overcome the resistance offered by the inhabitants. Daulatrao sindhia granted him the Pargana of Pohori of Narwar district in 1810 AD. In the same year Laxman Narsinghrao died.

RAMCHANDRA NARSINGH ALIAS BABUSAHEB SITOLE;

Ramchandra Narsinghrao Alias Babusaheb Sitole was adopted by Laxman Narsinghrao Sitole in 1810 AD. Balabai sitole, administered the affairs of the state with great tact during the minority of Babusaheb sitole. This lady built Ghats on Ganges river in accordance with her religious views. She built brideges at intervals and planted trees along wth the sides of roads. The family still has claims on the roads (36).

Such meritorious acts have impratalized her name. The deept interest she took in descharging her religious obligations made Balabai famous amongst the persons of ther time.

The Zehagirdars of the Peshwa-period may be divided into four categories. The first category included those Zehagirdars of Nobles, who got their Zehagir as being the near and dear relatives of the Chhatrapati, Peshwa or Ruler in Malwa. The second category included those chiefs or warriors, they sacrificed and valour of those deserved state consideration in terms of land assignment. The third category included those inamdar or land lords who received their Zehagir at a mark of the peshwa's favour due to some consideration, influence or reason etc. The fourth category of Zehagirdar was those of whose title to the land in their possession was sufficiently old and they were allowed to continue their holdings as Zehagirdars. The position of the Zehagirdar of the post-Shivaji period was similar to that of the Grandees of the Mughal emperors. Every increase in their Zehagirs and vice-versa.

These Zehagirdars were always anxious to raise their status and Zehagir and hence most of them were constantly busy in adventures campaign. The Zehagirdars mostly remained on long and constantly campaign. The result of which was though effective, but efficient administration of the territories in Zehagir. The interference was rare and consequently much latitude was availed of by the Zehagirs. Zehagirdars in Malwa had saved the Maratha-Swarajya from extinction, but without much service to the inreturn sapped the very foundations of the Maratha Swarajya. However, in the Zehagir, the rights of the Zehagirdars were as supreme as that of rulers in Malwa and Peshwa in the Territories of Swarajya.

CONCLUSION

The whole period was naturally one of the Transition and the provinces of Malwa saw great changes; which revolutionised society, culture and ideals, introduced new factor and above all gave entirely new colour to its political map. It took along time to adjust the opposing forces, clashing interest and divergent ideals. The impact of the marathas would help Malwa to rise once again to its former greatness.

Chhatrapati Rajaram conceived the idea of expansion for which he prepared his sardars to effectively knock at the gates of Delhi to ensure enough room for conquest and establish Maratha empire as a retaliatory measure, the young Peshwa Bajirao I along with lieutenants; Holkar, Pawar, Sindhia, marched to North in the response to the agreement arrived between Chhatrapati Shahu and Malwa sardas i.e. with an assurance of chowth and Sardeshmukhi rights of the Deccan and 6 subhas in the first instance and secondly Malwa, Gujrat and Bundelkhand, Mokalasa and revenue collection to maintain law and order(37).

There are lot of misunderstanding about the career and achievements of Maratha princely rulers in various field of Administration their achievements in the various battle fields. The present study reveals that, these misunderstanding about the role of Maratha princely states in Malwa had played in politics are baseless. Unpublished manuscript at Sitamau, Dhar, Devas and Chitegaon have been microscopically analysed for the first time and this study brings brighter side of the Maratha Princely States of Malwa to the light.

Similarly the present work has traced the rise and growth of Maratha Princely states in Malwa. These Maratha princely states had received little attention of the scholars interested in Maratha History.

It is an humble attempt to fillup the gap and trace the history of Maratha states outside Maharashtra. Maratha princely rulers e.g. Holkar, Pawar and Sindhia families were ever, inch worthy warrior of that time; honoured school to which the illustrious Chhatrapati Shivaji and the heroic Bajirao I; were atonce the noblest and the ornaments. MalharRao Holkar, Ahilyabai YeshantRao Holkar, UdajiRao Pawar, AnandRao Pawar, eshwantRao Pawar, Ranoji Sindhia, Mahadaji Sindhia, Jayappa Sindhia, Jankoji Sindia, were most distinguished characters in advancing the Maratha conquest. There are sufficient historical sources; which interpret the importance of work of members of Holkar, Pawar and Sindia families. They played a prominent role in the expansion. The present Thesis has tried to high light the role played by Malwa in the war of independence of 1857. Some of the manuscript collection in Malwa is being used for the first time by the scholar to study Mini Hindavi Swarajya and Maratha rule in Malwa. Sitamahu and Dhar Daftar helps us to reassess the career and achievements of MalharRao Holkar, YeshwantRao Holkar and UdajiRao Pawar. Some glaring moments of their brightes career are being brought to light for the first time through the present work.

Similarly the unpublished manuscript collection in Malwa helps us to analyse the relations between Maratha Princely States of Malwa and Peshwas the present work has analysed the said relations and has revealed that the misunderstandings about these princely states were many a times baseless. These types of baseless misunderstandings in the mind of Peshwa has created strain relationship. This ultimately was detrimental to the prospect of Maratha polity. In fact most of the Maratha princely states in Malwa were the faithful followers and sincere benefactors of the Peshwa.

To sum of the conclusion in brief whatever might have been the cause of the Maratha and non Maratha nobilities immigration in Malwa; they enjoyed full confidence of the Maratha princely rules. It is also significant that inspite of so much trust and confidence, Maratha princely rulers gave them some important posts as a Diwan Subhedar, Jagirdars. Moreover the Maratha and Non Maratha nobles were quite successful in the discharge of their services in Malwa. This can be corroborated by the fact that the posts of Diwans Subhedars and Mamlatdars were made hereditary by Maratha princely rulers in Malwa.

Foot Notes and references.

- 1) Forrester's selections.P.141.
Burway; Life of Subhedar Malharao Holkar p.158.
- 2) Dr.Raghuvirsing; Opcit p.336.
- 3)Ibid...Opcit p.173.
- 4) Burway Opcit.P.173.
- 5) GrandDuff Maratha History Vol.I P.624.
- 6) Burway Opcit.P.175.
- 7) Majjade Itihas Sagraha Shahu Kojinisihi p.14.
- 8) Sardesai Main currents of Maratha History pp.175 176
- 9) S.A.Sharma India as I see her(Agra 1956) pp.198 99.
- 10) Majjade Itihas Sagraha Chhatrapati Shahu's Adilanya Part X.
- 11) Sinha The rise of the Peshwa Chapter IIIrd p.351.
- 12) Marteen Eastern India Vol.III p.19. Natu Mahadaji Sindhia P.269.
- 13) The Bengal spectator April 1842.
- 14) Grand Duff opcit pp.18 22 V.A.Natu, Mahadaji Sindhia P.268.
- 15) Martin opcit pp.161, 168, 425, 454.
- 16) G.S.Sardesai the social and religious matter Introduction P.1
S.A.Sharma India as I see her p.189 190.
- 17) G.S.Sardesai opcit(Introduction)P.1 2
- 18) S.P.D.43(Introduction) P.2.
- 19) Guard Cavalier State Gazetteer p.46.
- 20) Ibid p.48.
- 21) Ibid 48, 49, 148.

- 22) M.V.Kibe forwarded Mandlikor Mandloi papers and the family p.11.
- 23) Forwarded of Kelkar's Maratha and the English p.15.
- 24) Mr.G.S.Bayley Representatives of Central India pp.10 11.
- 25) C.B.Burrows Representative men of central India part III p.11.
- 26) C.E.Loard Dhar state Gazetteers p.244.
- 27) Sardar Kibe(Forwarded) The mandlik papers and the family (Indore 1946) pp.9,11,12.
- 28) C.E.Loard Dhar state Gazetteer pp.239 240
- 29) Ibid pp.240 243.
- 30) C.B.Burrows Representative men of central India part II opcit.p.43.
- 31) G.S.Sardesai New history of mathas opcit.p.346.
- 32) Representative men of central India part I opcit p.43.
- 33) Representative men opcit part II.P.39.
- 34) Ibid p.42.
- 35) Representative men opcit part I.p.27.Part II p.41.
- 36) Ibid Part I.P.28.
- 37) Bharatiya Itihas Sanshodhan Mandal Quarterly(Marathi) 16 Article I pp.9 12.

"MARATHI" APPENDIX No. 1

होवकरशाहीच्या इतिहासाची साधने

भाग पहिला

१६९३ ते १७९७ ई.स.

(For the battle of Panipat)

संपादक

दा. दा. ठाकुर

इ.स. १९६६

Letter No. 1.

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अनुक्रमिक १६०

(१०)

पेंड्रे दे राबिलावक

महाराष्ट्री होवकर

→

पुरुषोत्तम महारक्ष

- देवराव महारक्ष

" आवदाली पहिली पलिकडे गेली. मासहिमखान अर्धवेदप्रोते पाण रोहिण्याची मिळीत आहे. दोन बाहजादे समागमे आहेत. मजीबखान दिल्लीस आहे. या स्तव आपले आग्रमन या प्रांते जाळियाते सर्व बंदोबस्त होईल म्हणोन लिहिले. त्या प्रांते बावयाच्या विचार केली होता परंतु सदरद्वारे मामलने मुळे गुवायाची साबान १

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Letter No. 2

अनुक्रमिक १६९ (११)

पुरुषोत्तम महारक्ष →

७९ साबान

महाराव होवकर.

" पत्रांतरे न आली. इल्ली आहा आवदाली लोरोरूम कय करून पोखोवे मजे थावला तो दोन वातडू (सतलन) मजीबर छावणी करून, खडे सारी मिळी पोह-यून स्तीखायाची युद्ध केले. सिसले पाचसात हजारवर झारले. कांही राहिले ते धरले व पळीत गेले. आता सराईद पलिकडे विसावेसावर आहे. सराईदत आलीमार वगैरे रावयासी तयार करविला आहे. कांही एक दिवस तेथे राहणार. राजे लक्ष्मीनारायण सराईदकर पूर्वी सरकारवा-याकर होता. तो जेजखान दिवाण बाहये तोंपेया आहे. त्याने आतास पंगोस लास कपये घेवाकस करून करून आता जायवे मज्जेस सिद्धस खरी मजे मज्जेस घेऊन जावे हा मनसुखा केला आहे. या मोहोस एक आरेण लागेल. ते काम जाळियावर मग हाकून मुरमल योजकडे येणार वदला आहे. हाकून भरतपूर वगैरे गडकल सरआम करून युद्धाचे तयारीत बसले आहेत. आपारियत्ये किल्याची बंदोबस्तो उत्तमप्रकारे केली आहे. पातझा अरुली नोहर व सुजाउचीले हे आंधीचे किल्याची कनिया करितात. तमाम मुलखात साडी- काळपीये मंदगल असल- वसवितात.

हिंदीशाहीच्या इतिहासाची साधने
श्रेष्ठ दुसरा

(For the benefit
- of Panipat -

नोपावक आ. भा. पाळके म्वाल्हेर १९२०

Letter No. 3

सिनवॉक २२०

जनकोजी शिंदे —————> लालाजी वल्हाळ

"दिलीवरी गिलच्या व रोहिले आले. त्यांनी आपली लडाई जाली.
११२०१ जमानली गुरुवारे जारली. त्यास तीर्थरूप काका बाबा यास
गौळ्या लागून लडाईतच राहिले. व आमसारी भुवने दंडावरी बोनी
लगाली. थोडकीच अये. त्या उपर आमी बुजण्यात येऊन सर्वही
बुजगे सांभाळून गावकौट पुतळी प्राप्त जेश्वर येथे आलो. तो
येथेच बागशी मल्हारजी बाबा होलकर हा प्रोजेसर वर्तमानआले.
त्यांनी व आपसी भेट जारली. या उपरी कुणो बेखारे जागे
लाऊन आमी उभयता मडे प्रोजेवशी दिलीकडे रोहिले व
गिलच्यास तंबी करावयास येका से रोवात जातो.
वसत्रस नैस्तनावत करितो विंता न करी. ११२५
माहे जोवळ +

† १० जानेवारी १८६० ई.स.

कोटपुतळी - हे गाव बेवाडीचे वावग्येस ह कोसावर आहे.

११ पोप वध १३ वि.सं. १८१६ = १५ जाने. १८६०

APPENDIX No 3

Letter No-04

होळकरशाहीच्या इतिहासाची साधने.

आज्ञा पहिल्या

१६९७ ते १७९७

अनुक्रमांक १५१ (९३) $\xleftrightarrow{\text{सा. ला. दुर्ग}}$ ना. वा. ठाकुर $\xleftrightarrow{\text{इंदूर १९४५}}$
 महारजी होळकर \rightarrow पुरुषोत्तम मारव
 फातुल वध ६ रामोर १ (८)
 ८ मार्च १७५९

"अवघाळी वगैरे कमील मजकूर कितेंक लिहिला. ऐसियासि आरमो
 या प्रांती आबियासि वर्तमान तुरमास एकदोन वेळा लिहिले आहे सांप्रत
 बलवाडियास आले. येथील मंजानताचा मामला पेंसला झाला. छिदो रोमने
 कूथ करून दिव्हीच्या मुमारे जात असो. अमियासि उत्तम रोतीने पारपत्या
 होऊन बंदोबस्त होणे तो होईल चितो नाही. छ १९ रजब बहुत -
 काय लिहिणे."

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अनुक्रमांक १५७ (९७)

Letter No. 5

महारजी होळकर \rightarrow बाळाजी वरनाळ मुल्मुळे
 छ १५ रमजान
 येथ वध २ २१ एप्रिल १७५१

"भातेर आशी प्रांतीचा बंदोबस्त करून रामपुण्याकडे गावे बाह्यत पोहरी-
 पुढे सात आठ कोसावर येऊन मुल्मुळ केला, तो वर्तमान झाले की, राजाजी
 जनकोजी शिंदे विरोध राख आले दो मजलीने लुब्धकांत येगाय याजकमिता
 दोन मुल्मुळ पारभली करून राजाजी जनकोजीची भेट जाली म्हणजे
 दरमजल रामपुण्यास मुमारे येतो. हरावरबोरस उत्तम प्रकारे पाविपत्या
 होऊन येईल."

APPENDIX no ~~4~~

Letter No 6

शिंदेवासीच्या इतिहासाची साधने
भाग तीसरा

कोंटकर व दाभोळकर संग्रह १७१३ ते १८०१ ई.स.

संपादन - आ.भा.फाळके ज्वाल्हेर १९३०

लैवकिक ९१

बालाजी बाजीराव ————— क्षीरसागर भगवंत

" आजचे मते महारवा वर दिलीपासून लारोर पावेतो कामाच्या
सावलीयार देऊन फिरंजीबास घोरुन भोटीस यावे. विशेष पैका
मिळने नसता दबावदळीरीचे तेज खराब करुन गुंतून पावे हे
महसा न व्हावे. छ * साबात

* येथे मु॥ ३ वि.सं. १८१५ : १० एप्रिल १७५८

पोथ तारीख छ ९ रमजान : १७ मे १७५८

मु॥ व्यासनदी पूर्व तीर.

APPENDIX NO 5

(power in -
-man)

અપ્રકાશિત સ્વામી દફતર ૧૭૨૧-૧૭૭૬ઈ.સ. - માનવ)

અનિહિત નિહિત આઠલે

હાં. રજુકરિદે ભાગ્યપ્રિત સંગ્રહિત (૧૭૫૬ઈ.સ.)

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પ.સ. ૬૦

૧૪ પ્રાગલ ૧૭૨૨ઈ.

૦ સિદ્ધા

ઝડાગી પત્રાવ —————>

નંદલાલ મંડલોઈ

૬ ૨૨ મોહરમ.

“ જા માત્રી અમલદાર જાનત હોરોન મરિતે જામે અધાપ અમલ.
 ચાલત નાહી. ત કાહો વેલરેલ કરીત નાહી મળોન વિદિત જાલે. તરીફ
 મોદ તુમ યોગ આરે. હેયે નાહી. માલને પ્રાંતેસલ વિલે મરોદા. તુમ્યા
 અદલા અધાપ અમલ ચાલત નાહી. હે ઉત્તમ નાહી તુમ્યા આમ્યા-મોદ આરે
 થાજ કરિત. ભાગ્યને ભાગ્યે નાહી તરી અમલ હમ પ્રકારે-ચાલેસ રાસો
 હેયે નાહી. તુમો મળાલ ની, આવાંતર પ્રાંતાંત અમલ નાહી તર તેમોદી
 અમલ વસવિલા જાઈલ. આગ હરકોમી હરામ જાદગી કરીલ ભાગ્ય તેમો
 પોસ્યામ્મ અમલ-ચાલવિલા જાઈલ. માલવા પ્રાંત આપલો આરે.
 તેમો અમલ ન-વાલે હેયો નામ આરે ૧ સરવ્યલે કદન અમલ હિલદા-
 તરી ઉત્તમ આરે. હરકોમો સુપ્રવર્તન વર્તેલ ભાગ્યે ઊર્મિત હોઈલ.
 નાહી તરી વિચાર કસતવ આરે. તુમી તો સર્વ મોદાને સુસ આરે. ભાગ્યે
 હેયો નાહી. તરી રાગમી નારો સંપ્ર ગામ અમલ કુલવાન કુલકાન,
 સુરજીત દેમે ઉમ્મર લકેસ ન કરો જાણિજે ૬ ૨૨ મોહરમ.
 તો વિચાર તુમ્યા રોમતીન પમે પાવિલી પરંતુ હોરો ઉત્તમ આલે
 તરી યાપ માલે ઉત્ત પાઠકન દેમે. ”

Appendix No. 5

(Power in -
--Malwa)

अप्रकाशित धार दफ्तर १७२१ - १७७६ ई.स.

अकल्ला निहल आठले

डॉ. बंधुबिर सिंह लोथरवात संग्रहीत (१९३५ ई.स.)

→ ← → ← → ← → ←

प. सं. ३

टिपण

३ डिसे. १७२१ ई.स.

१. फारसी समझ बाजीराव बल्लाळ याजकडून .

२. कुमरवान याचे नावे बाजीराव बल्लाळ याजकडून की-
उदाजी पवार यास चौथा हिस्सा मालव्याचा सौंपविला आहे.
एहेलकारास व जमींदारास लाकई करावी.३. लोथरवात याच्या नावे परवाना बाजीराव बल्लाळ -
याजकडून की उदाजी पवार यांचा मजकूर तुमचे सांगितला वरून
जाहीर जाला. यास चौथा हिस्सा तिकडेचा मजकूर दिले आहे
सौंपविला आहे. यांचे तुम्ही ह्म प्रकार मदत करावी.४. राजे आम, फिदवी झाह आलमगोर बादशाहा यांचे
याचे पत्र मवाब खान बुलंदखान याजला की. येथे तिकडोळ
प्रिसाद लेकून प्रिसादी याजला धरऊन बंदोबस्त करणा करिता
उदाजीराव पवार यांचा मजकूर तिकडे आले. तिकडे आले आहेत. येऊन
पौखले असतील यांची मदत व दोस्ती ठेवावी.५. महमद शेरखा याचे नावे बाजीराव बल्लाळ याजकडून
सुबे मालव्याचा चौथा हिस्सा उदाजीराव पवार याजला मुकरर
जाला आहे तरी एहेलकार व जमींदार यास लाकई करावी
व दोस्ती राखीत जावी.६. मवाब फिरबुलंदखान याचे नावे बाजीराव बल्लाळ याजकडून
कागद दौत सुबे मालवा व सुबे गुजराथ येथील चौथा हिस्सा
उदाजीराव पवार याजकडे सौंपविला आहे.

अप्रकाशित धार दफ्तर १७११ - १७७६ ई.स. (Powers in -
- malwa.)

श्रीकृष्ण विठ्ठल आठले

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय [१९३५ ई.स.]

तहनामा राजश्री उदाजी पवार नु ॥ नवा अक्षरीनमया व अल्लु तह प्रांत गुडाराथ व-
मालका प्रांताची योंथाई.

प्रांतभजकुवाची योंथाई व नरदेशमुखीच्या
चेरवतिथार सर्वतुम्हावर दिलहा असे. हुनरन
राजश्री बाजी भिवराव तुम्हा सामागमे दिलहे
आहेत. नकीक्का रोरको. कृप्य मुकाम त्याचा परंतु
जे करणे ते तुमच्या येकतिथारे करावे. गुरुस्त्री
तारह त्याती तुम्ही करावा. तुम्हा खेरीज
त्यास हर एक पियार करावयास प्रयोजन नाही.
चेरवतिथार तुम्हावर कुलम १

प्रांतभजकुनी जो आकार जमा होईल त्यात
नरदेशमुखी व बावती योंथाई फिरस्ते प्रमाणे
काढावी. उरला ऐवज दामाशाही गणती प्रो।
ध्यावा. शिबंदी तोफखाना व भण्डार्या ऐवज
नरदेशमुखी ऐवजगवरी मोधम काढून
उरला ऐवज गणती प्रमाणे दामाशाही घ्यावा.
मौकाशी कोणी न म्हावा.

नारै गमेया तह येणे प्रो। करावा.

कुलम १

हि कुलमे सारी शिबंदी आहेत. रे कामात करार
मिळाला तरी येणे प्रमाणे वर्तवें.

येका करावित थोडा मिळाला तरी आधी
दिवाण वारावे उरले ते नरदेशमुखी सप्तगावे.
दिवाणच्या ऐवज न येतो तरी रु ॥ कोणी
शिबंदी व रोजगारा व दारु गोळी शिवाय
येऊ (न) न ये एक लक्ष कुलम.

दिवाण रु ॥ रुपये एकलक्ष बावती
नरदेशमुखीच्या बावती आधी वारावे.

कुलम १

जो व हुनरन येईल त्यास दामाशाही मालती
आधी दिवाणच्या ऐवज वारावा उरला ऐवज
त्याची दामाशाही याकी व नुम्ही घ्यावी.

कुलम १

जेथे मुकासियाची शणी वसली मसलील
तेथे बावती व नरदेशमुखी काढून उरला ऐवज
ठाणीयत्वे वेगळीस घ्यावा.

कुलम १

योंथाई नरदेशमुखी दिवाणच्या ऐवज काढावा
त्यात राजश्रीचे देणे वस्तुन वकी ऐवज दाखिल
त्या पैकी एक लक्ष तक्षीम तुम्हास व.

नरदारीस दिलहा येणे. दोन तक्षीणा भाजवे
नारदारीस घावे.

कुलम १

[नरदेशमुखी व नरदेशमुखी पूर्ण अधिकार]

Chapter V- "HINDI" → APPENDIX NO 1

१

सितामऊ राज्यके नियुक्त वकील वजीरबेगसे
 सितामऊ के दिवाणकी लिखे गये हस्तलिखित राजकीय पत्र.
 * जे. नय्याबिरसिंह लायब्ररीत बीकानेर *

Unpublished

मंगलवार २३ जुन १८५७

आषाढ़ सुदी ३, १९१४

पलटन वा तोपखाना गैरदफ्तरी हालतक जाहरमें सरकार अधीनकी
 ताबंदगीमें मोगुद हैं। हाल में ऐसा सुना जाता है कि कासी वा
 हासी हिंसा व गवांव नारिख की लोक दुमनेवा फसाद करवा हो गये।
 कासी लुट गयी सुनते हैं। मथुरा लुट गयी सुनते हैं। छुदाके फगलसे
 आप बुदना है। लुकातको [बाधमान] अकल देना नीरानी है।
 थोड़े में बहोत जानीगे।

निभाई लुट गया। आज बीज आषवार मालवा में देखावा और लोकोकी
 जवानों हाल सुनाके मनमंदसोर मेवासी लोकोने लुटती। अंसा बुनेसी
 बड़ा पिका है। रात की नद दिव की भूख सब छुगई।
 पुरा बर करे।

सितामाफ राज्यके नियुक्त वकील-वजीर केगसे.

२

सितामाफ के दिवाग को लिखे गए इस्तख्किन राजकीय पत्र

डॉ० रघुविरसिंह लाल्यवरीत नंगर Unpublished

बुधवार २ जुलै १८५७

आसाहसुदी २०, १९१४

१ जुलै को ८॥ बजे के लगभग इन्दौर रेसिडेन्सीपर होलकर के
भीलोंकी आक्रमण कर दिया। जिसमें पाय अंगरेज, दो औरते-
एक लडका, एक सोख खेनीक आदी मारे गये। कोठी का सामान
लूट लिया और बंगले जला दिये। दो खिसाले खेहीर सिखिबोंके
तथा दो कंपनी भील पलटनकी छे अंगरेजीमहोत भगडाई।
छावणी इन्दौर का बजार लूट दिया गया। अफीम की कोठीपर
आक्रमण किया जिसमें पाय अंगरेज और चार में मारे गये।
दो में होलकरकी कैद में पकड़ी गयी। आखिरी एक अंगरेजको मार डाला।
अंगरेजी खेड़ा काट डाला गया। और हुलकरकी दुवाई फीर गई।

दिववार ५ जुलै १८५०

આસાદગુફી ૨૪, ૨૯૨૪

और फेर साहदतवां बाँटें गये सो महाराजने तीन बार गोलीसे आरामके का हुकुम दिया जो किबाहेलोंने गोली मारी नही ! सो फेर साहदतवां को कैद करा दिया ।
फेर सानके वक्त उत तो जे चंपगायोंको रुख देगे का हुकुम दिया तो गोने
पुकारा करवा ! लेकिन कीचवालों ने हुकुम माना नही.

और फगर को मरु का बीयाला वा फलतन सब आले वा छांवनी मे.
पंजाने के पास डेरा करा है और महाराजसे तोपे मांगते है सो
दम तो देते है परन्तु देने नही है। और मरु को फौज हुलकर की.
फौज सब एकजो होकर धर करम से ल्यार है। महाराज को की मरती
तो हाल तक अंगरेजो के तरफ है। वा फौज बरस्यदे फसाद है।
और फौज दे बदलने से अंगरेज लोग मरे हुवो की गाडनोने ये
सो की बंद रहा। वा इसी वख्त से हफ्तिन के बड़े सहादतों को
घोलत देकर छांवनी मे जो फौज हुलकर व मरु की है। ऊपर मैजा-
गया और छतर की। मगर अबतक कीसीने मंजूर करा नही।
और सबब तोपे मांगने का चेहे जो अफसर लोग अंगरेज फलतन
मरु मे बाहर से जानोने फौजवालोंने मान डाला. और तोपे तोपे १८
अंगरे मेगजीन सुदां साह तथा असी गोरो के पास कोले मे है।
और उन लोगोंने मोश्के बांध रखे है। जीधे मी अस्थाड जुद १३,
संतीवार के दिन फौज वालोंने बाद बरदारी के वास्ते तमाम जुनी
इन्दौर वा.

सोहर मेसे धोडा, उट, टट, गाडी बेल व गैरा हाती छौडानही
बुंदेल खंड के वकील सारे छांवनी से भागकर मुसाफरघाने मे
आंन उतरे अ और अपने मालिक को पास जाने से ल्यार मे सो
उन लोगोके छोडे, उट, टट बेलगाडी, हाती वगैरा लुट गये, सामान
खुदा। और अबतक हमारे उपर भी यही नोबत है। मगर
सुरत बचने की ज्यान मालसे नजर आतो नही और सलाम के वख्त
का की असबाब लुट गया। जीधपर दोपहर के वकत सराफेतक

लूटने की जोबत पोहँची ! जद सारा साफ़कार लोग ताईबाई-
 साहेब पास गये सौ ताईबाई ने सोर पोता और दाग का माता
 मंगाया और हात में ले कमबोद बांद छोडे पर सवार होकर
 बवाल छतरोयो के दरसन कर छावनी में अपनी फोज वा
 मद्र की फोज में गये । फोज ने पेडाबाई रुको । महाराजने
 चातर करी से हाज तुम स्थापित हे तुम लोग कहो सोकरे
 जीसपर फोजवालोंने महाराजसे अरज की के हमारे सरपर
 आप हात धरोगे तो मद्र की कीला वा मंदलेसर की कीला
 फोते कर सातपुडेतक चरसात के आंदर फोते करा आपकी
 समालोचने करेवेंगे । और शेल्या पलटन वा अरजन
 (अर्जुन) पलटन वा बाईली १२ रोसाले सोरे बदलकर
 तुलकर से और मद्र की फोज में मील गये हैं । सो सब
 अपसर छावनी में महाराज को मासये पर वीरोंकर

(पृष्ठ ३५)

चार घडी तक ईकांत करते रहे सो सुने में आता हे के धरम
 करम हुवा ! और तोपे की देने का कनार करा हे और सात
 चार दिनसे बाडा बंद था आज खुला है, और चार दिनसे सारे
 मोहर में अंज पानी हवाफ हे, और सेर नाज लेकर ईधर से
 उधर जाता हे तो लुटा जाता हे । खेरी पगडी अंध ले जाता हे ।
 कोई पुछता बरी हे । अंध को अंध मार डालता हे । कोई
 बरी पुछता हे । मोहर से मोहर दो दो च्याद च्याद मोहर पर
 भागे नाहे आंधरेर लोग मारे गये । हर तरफ की ओर काले
 लोग की हर तरफ रस्ते में मारे ना लुट जाते हे !

कुंभखंडी लोगो वसीखो पाय सो सो दो दो सो के जापते है,
 मोहर में लु गये। बाहर देखे क्या होगा? ओर में आपको नद से
 फसाद दे लोषता है के ज्ञापना भोजो मगर आपने ब्याल नही करा।
 अब मे पुदा के तनप मे बब रहा हूँ। मे केसे सरकार मे भांगगा।
 अगर मे गया तो मेरे बाप का नाम कसी रोज डूब गया। ओर
 मे १३वी की रात को तो महाराज ने अपनी कली फोज से
 मऊ की कली फोज से इमान धरम करा था कल गये।
 तिस पर मऊ को फोज रोखाले, पकाने वा महाराज ने
 ताले ४ च्यार, नवाब फौज लालो को कंपनी ३
 लालोने अकल जेतने मार फसाद करा था और पेटेल
 मोन करो तीन सो ३०० के वा साहदतवां साजे ने
 रोजना लोडा ओर हाती ५ धार के। लाले ४ दोनो रईस
 देवास के हाती ३ महाराज हुलकर

[पृष्ठ ३ व]

र वसीखो की हाती वा वसती मे के हाती ३८ डी बेल,
 टूट धोडे, जो भुटे थे, ऊपर रोजना लादकर जैता चल
 लया लेकर सो असाड सुद ३४ के दीन कुपकर मेहरपुर
 के नस्ते वा देवास के नस्ते होकर दोनो को गये, सो लोषाफ
 के तरफ आन निकले तो मजब हो जायेगा। ओर यही लोग
 महाराज की लोपे ७ सात ले गये है। ओर सो (मोती) ३४
 के दोन महाराज ने डुडो ४ पोटाई के कांड लु छापना का
 माल लया हो लो कोतवाला मे फोवा दोनो; नही धर
 लोभाग हो जायेगा। ओर लेखर के दोन नाने बुरेख पंडे
 लाले इंधारे होकर मुसाफर खाने मे ओर अपने अपने
 बरखारों को जाते थे।

APPENDIX No. 3 (E)

→ बी धोडा 32 एडु ईन लोगीका सी (मिती) बरस ६५ को लुटाया।
 वमो रहा राम राम सी (मिती) तेरस ६३ को लुट गया। नगे और
 नगे पाव जोदर मु कडा चले गये। और सी. ६४ के होन बाद रानगी
 पान वदलो के, महाराज ने २ अंगरेज नो बोडे ॥ केह के धोडा पर
 नपाव करा सात नवसो पमानसीध भीमगीर वा रामचंदरराव
 कोरा नगर परल देकर छांवनी मरु को मेजा है। उन गोरोपाय
 जो मरु के करीले मे तोपे ले लडने को ल्यार बेहे है और
 वमो अंगरेज लोग वा मेम लोग बाडे मे है। और गदर
 रच रहा है। नस्ते अक सब बंद है। फासद भी

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लते नहा है। और रहे उधर ही रहा है। नही मरने मे नही जीने
 मे है। और पस मरने मे है के बडा साहेब मये बंद अंगरेज
 लोग वा मेमो के सीधो के रोसाले के सात भागे है। सोही
 पोहचते ई दगा, सो सारा अंगरेज लोग मारा गया व बडा साहेब
 को यरम करम कर सीधले ले भागे थे। ऊनो जोना। बेगम
 सारेब को सीधा वा असी की चकर है के सबसे सब मारे गये।
 मूल है हाल पुपते चकराई है। और महाराज का रयात
 अंगरेजो के आवाद करने का फेर पाया जाता है। आगे देखा वये।
 रात नोद दिन को मुक नव गई। अब मे ईस जगे रह तो केसे रहूँ
 और वहा आऊ तो केसे आऊ। पांच रोज मे आज अंन पानो भेले
 हवा हुँ। जोरो पानो मुरदार रहा। घर मे धोडा छुपा रचा है।
 कूट को एक के धरमे छुपा (क) रचा है। मेरा असबब असे
 के घर मे गडा है। इस सरत ये के सेहत सामानत रहा तो
 रु २० देका। धोको के घर कपडे धोने डाले मे वो लुट गये।
 और कलह मरने वरतन छ कलह करने मेजेये वो लुट गये।
 कुछ असबब पा धोडा कूट वा जरत →

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घात लक्ष्मि ने तक बाकी है, सो देखते रहें हैं। वे जावे हैं।
 डाक रस्ते बंद है। धर मोजा मेरीये हाल सुना होगा तो रोती
 पीटती होगी सो देखते कागद धर मंद सोर नुरत चेर साल
 भेजोगे। ओर उर की गदर होगा, सो ऐसा न है के ईजत बीगड
 जावे। बांहा का बंदोबस्त रखोगे। सरकार का वा ज्योन मालका
 बंदोबस्त रखोगे। यदि बीकर कर गारा मोल लीया गया है।
 क्या बुदाने आफत उली १ ओर आदमी ३ मेरे पास थे जोसमे १ आं:
 तो फसादी बीज के साथ गया १ बीज है १ मोकरी पे है, सो ईय
 जगे आदमी कडा नही मिलता है। मिले तो इस वकत अकेल
 नही सो १ आदमी या दोन आदमी धर के कामकाज रोटी धोडा
 कर के लायेक बांहां होतो तलाम कर जलद जकर भेजोगे।
 भुलोगे नही। ओर ~~१००~~ सो रुपये १०० के अंदाज बखस्य भेजोगे।
 इस जगे बखस्य इस वकत के तोल है। पास कदिया होतो काम
 चले नही देता रहे सो ज्यानोंगे। ओर गैहरबानी रहे। मो (मोती)
 असाउ सुदी १४ १३१४ दितिवार की रात सो लीया गया। कस्म
 मिले नही सो साकूमरी के मारफत काय भेजा है।

- सो उपर लिखाये ५

सितामाह राज्यके नियुक्त दिवान वकील-वजीर बेगमसे.

सितामाह के दिवान को लिखे गये हस्तलिखित राजकीय पत्र

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भाद्रपद वदी ९ - १९१४

१६ अगस्त १८५७

अभीतक हुलकरके तरफसे सफाई नहीं हुआ। ऐसा अफवार है की
बन्दों की फौज पर छापा पड़ेगा। एक इस्तिथार में निजोही लोगोंने
जोष राजाओंसे मदद पाही है, उनको सजा देसी डेट देगा।
बखाना हुलकरने मरु अज दिया था, पर वहां से भी
१८,००० रु. चौरी चला गया।

आसीन वदी ११, १९१४

१६ अक्टूबर १८५७

होलकरने अंग्रजोंके लिए लाखों रुपये खर्च किये अब अंग्रेज
मदत का उनको विश्वास नहीं करते। हरतरफ फसाद होता
नजर आता है। महाराजने हुकुम भेजा था की, सारे हलीयार
मिस्त्रीखाने में भेज दो। तथा बकाली हात परेड करो। जिसके
कारण सौना बिडोही होगी। तब महाराजने अफसरोंको
बुलाकर कहा की हमने तो ऐसा कहा था की टुटे फुटे हतिथार
मिस्त्री खाने में भेज दो।

अभीतक अंग्रजने जहांतहां स्त्रीर धुपाये
वैठे हैं तो होलकरकी फौज उसके कबजे में है और
नहीं अंग्रेजकी फौज अंग्रेजोंके पक्ष में।

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